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THE JERUSALEM POST



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Tuesday, December 27, 1983

Beirut paralyzed by heavy fighting

BEIRUT (Reuters). — The Lebanese army and Shi'ite Muslim fighters fought a four-hour battle in the southern suburbs of Beirut today, and at least eight people were killed by shells which fell on residential areas of the city.

Fighting, some of the heaviest since the June 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, paralyzed large areas of the city until a new cease-fire took hold in the late afternoon.

An army command statement said the fighting had been intensified by the arrival of the Palestinian refugee army of Sabra and Shatila, which had been under attack since moving to two positions previously held by French troops on Friday.

The government forces in the east of Beirut joined their allies in yesterday's fighting, firing shells and rockets pouring into central and eastern parts of the city.

Shells also fell on areas east and south of Sabra and Shatila, residential areas, and political sources said about 55 had died in the last days. The state radio earlier reported the casualty toll since Friday was 24 dead and more than 40 wounded.

The radio said Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel-Halim Khaddam telephoned Lebanese President Amin Gemayel to discuss the fighting.

Representatives of the combatants, meeting in Damascus last week, drew up a plan to create buffer zones along the front lines but this has yet to be implemented.

A spokesman for the Italian troop contingent, which patrols Sabra and Shatila, said one Italian soldier was lightly wounded by shrapnel yesterday, the fifth Italian to suffer light injuries since Friday.

Italian troops were pinned down unable to move because of the intensity of the fighting, an Italian spokesman said.

Some shells crashed into the mainly Christian neighbourhood of Ashrafieh and the mid-city line near the museum.

At the airport, sources said one shell landed near the western runway and the main airport road was shelled. Planes were still taking off though most passengers failed to turn up because of the hazardous conditions.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

10 soldiers wounded in Lebanon

MENACHEM HOROWITZ
 Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Four Israeli soldiers were wounded in two incidents in Lebanon yesterday.

Three soldiers were wounded last week when their convoy of jeeps under light arms fire on the eastern side of the village of Nabatiya.

Earlier yesterday, light arms fire was directed at a Lebanese car in Nabatiya. In the car were Lebanese belonging to the civil defence organization sponsored by Major Sa'ad Haddad and the IDF.

Jordan gov't non-committal on Arafat

AMMAN (AP). — The Jordanian government said yesterday that leader Yasser Arafat was best to evaluate the results of his meeting with Egyptian President Mubarak.

A statement by Jordanian Minister Mudar Badrao, the Jordanian reaction to last day's visit to Egypt by Arafat, after a barrage of criticism aimed at the PLO chairman by the Palestine National Council (PNC) in Jordan have signed a joint expressing full support for Arafat, whose meeting with Mubarak was condemned by Palestinian hardliners.

The statement said the 38 members had called for an emergency meeting of the 530-seat PNC, the Palestinian parliament-in-exile, in which Arafat had a majority when it last met earlier this year.

In his statement, Badrao said "The evaluation of Arafat's visit to Egypt and his meeting with President Hosni Mubarak rests on Arafat himself because he knows more where Palestinian interests lie and he bears responsibility for his deeds."

The statement fell short of straightforward support for the PLO leader's move.

Killed, 20 injured on roads

Three people were killed and 20 injured in road accidents yesterday.

A woman of about 70 was hit and killed on Rehov Herzl 10 km from Tel Aviv. Police had not yet identified her by press time. She was wearing a blue coat, green trousers and shoes.

Two persons were killed and one injured in an one-vehicle accident late afternoon on the Erez road, near the Commune Ministry satellite station. All victims are from Kfar Harasa, Hebron.

Two injured were taken to Hadasa Hospital in Ein Kerem and to the Zedek Hospital in Tel Aviv.

Police are searching for the driver of the jeep skidded on the road, recently because it was speeding, returned, police say.

Police also want the driver of a car he was carrying 13 passengers in the jeep. One passenger was injured.

Two drivers of private cars were seriously injured in a three-way accident on the coastal road not far from Nitzanim last night. The accident happened when a car, travelling south, crashed into an oncoming bus and then hit another private car behind the bus. Two passengers in the cars were slightly injured. The four were taken to a hospital in Ashkelon.

Seven persons were injured lightly in road accidents during the rain in Jerusalem yesterday.

The woman killed on Sunday night when the car in which she and her husband were riding on Rehov Jabotinsky in Petah Tikva swerved off the road has been identified as Haya Rosen, 55, of Petah Tikva. Her husband, Aluf Menashe Yitzhak Rosen, 57, is in Beilinson Hospital with serious injuries. (Itim).

Andropov absent from major party plenum

MOSCOW (AP). — President Yuri Andropov, who has not been seen in public for over four months, failed to appear yesterday at a plenum of the powerful Communist Party Central Committee, according to official Soviet news agency Tass.

Andropov, 69, "expressed his regret that because of temporary illness he was not able to attend the session of the plenum," said in his account of the plenum. The text of a speech by Andropov was distributed to the committee members.

Tass said two candidates for the ruling Politburo were promoted to full status — Mikhail Solomentsev, 70, and Vitaly Litvinov, 57. The chief of the secret police, Viktor



An estimated 1,000 marchers yesterday block Jerusalem traffic in a protest organized by the Histadrut against the government's economic policy. (Rahamim Israeli)

Arafat, in Yemen, hits back at Arab critics

RIYADH (AP). — PLO leader Yasser Arafat, arriving to a reported hero's welcome in North Yemen, opened a campaign yesterday against his Arab and Palestinian critics.

In statements distributed by Arab news agencies from Sanaa, the North Yemeni capital, Arafat described his critics as "slaves of (ancient) Rome" and warned Arab governments that the recent Syrian-backed siege of his loyalist forces in Tripoli was "part of a conspiracy of sectarianism aimed against the entire Arab nation."

Arafat said some Arab parties, which he did not identify, were in complicity with Israel and the U.S. in this plot "with the aim of Balkanizing the region and then controlling it."

Arafat was apparently rallying support for his policies in advance of a crucial meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC) parliament-in-exile, tentatively scheduled for Algiers in February.

He has also said he was now more inclined to form a government-in-exile, something which he previously held as secondary.

The Greek vessel Odysseus Elytis carrying Arafat and about 1,000 loyalists entered North Yemeni waters earlier yesterday to "carnival-like" receptions at the Yemeni ports of Hodeida and Al-Katheeb, according to the news agencies.

A North Yemen navy unit was at hand to guide the vessel, which was greeted by the hoisting of ships and the cheering of crowds at the ports, the agencies reported.

Arafat later flew into the Yemeni capital for a meeting with President Ali Abdullah Saleh and conferences with Palestinian military aides.

PLO officers in Saudi Arabia were back to normal duty yesterday, breaking the vigil they had started at the Saudi Red Sea port of Jeddah since a radio message from Arafat's vessel Friday that it would need fuel and provisions en route to North Yemen.

Arafat's vessel did not enter the Saudi Port and the Saudi media maintained silence. As the vessel approached Yemen, the Saudis officially denied a report they had barred Arafat from entering Jeddah and said "such unchecked reports created unnecessary confusion."

In their official comment on the Cairo stop, the Saudis classified it as an internal Palestinian affair, apparently meaning it was up to Arafat to weather the storm he created. The statement made it clear the kingdom would accept whatever an elected PLO leadership adopted in quest of an independent Palestinian state. Such a policy emanated from decisions of Pan-Arab summits, the Saudi statement said.

The Greek car ferry Ionian Glory, carrying some 500 Palestinians evacuated from Tripoli, arrived in the port of Algiers early yesterday morning.

Algerian officials said the Palestinians would be housed in the Algiers region, where about 1,000 of the Palestinians released by Israel from Ansar camp in southern Lebanon have been located.

Hagoel quits at Electric Corp.

By DAVID HODGE
 Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The resignation last night of Electric Corporation chairman David Hagoel at a special meeting of the board of directors threatens to trigger a fresh wave of industrial unrest among the corporation's 6,000 workers.

Acting secretary of the works committee, Asher Cohen, told The Jerusalem Post that 12 months of peace in the corporation had been shattered by the power struggle in the higher echelons and now "anything can happen."

Hagoel tendered his resignation at the start of the board meeting following two weeks of bitter wrangling between him and Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i. The resignation was accepted by the board and Amos Proshan — Moda'i's candidate as Hagoel's successor — took the chair for the rest of the meeting.

The special meeting was convened at the minister's request after previous attempts in the cabinet to oust Hagoel had been stymied.

Moda'i accused Hagoel of failing to keep informed of developments within the corporation, and of giving overly generous bonuses to employees. He also held that Hagoel was partly to blame for the nationwide power cuts last month.

Hagoel strongly denied the allegations, saying that he had complete records proving that he had kept the minister in the picture at all times. "There is nothing that I do not have an answer for," he said.

Hagoel said the first he knew of Moda'i's intentions to dismiss him had been through the news media. It was only later that Moda'i informed him.

Sources close to Hagoel told The Post that the former chairman had wanted to continue in his post, but had finally decided that he had no option but to resign since he could no longer work with Moda'i.

Parts of Moda'i's criticisms of Hagoel involved giving senior administrative staff increased allowances. This decision, which had been ratified by the board, had also been supported by the corporation's general manager Yitzhak Hofi.

Israelis increase investment in foreign stocks

By AVI TEMKIN
 Post Economic Reporter

Israelis invested more than \$110 million in foreign stock markets during the summer bank crisis, and in the first nine months of the year, more than \$160m. were invested by local residents in stock exchanges abroad.

The level of Israeli investments abroad was published yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics as part of its balance-of-payments figures. During 1982, local residents invested \$46m. in foreign stock markets.

A spokesman for the Bank of Israel conceded yesterday that the sums invested abroad by Israelis may well be much larger, since the statistics reflect only those transactions made through official channels. "The large increase does not surprise us, especially when one remembers what was happening with the economy at that time," the spokesman added.

While Israelis were buying foreign securities, probably with sums received by selling bank shares, local banks were forced to bring large amounts of foreign currency from abroad to support the prices of their shares in the months preceding the crisis in October.

During the third quarter of the year, more than \$200m. were imported by the banks for this purpose, bringing the total amount of foreign currency borrowed overseas by the banks to support share prices to some \$700m. in the first nine months of the year.

The bureau's statistics revealed that in the January-September period, Israel's assets abroad were reduced by some \$1.35 billion to pay for growing deficits and for the money brought into the country by the banks.

Of this drop in assets, some \$470m. were accounted for by a reduction of the Bank of Israel's foreign currency reserves abroad, while some \$860m. in assets of the commercial banks were used mainly to support the prices of their shares.

At the end of September, Israel's net foreign currency obligations abroad increased by some \$1.5b., bringing the total net obligations to some \$17b.

The figures released by the bureau showed that in the first nine months of the year, the total deficit in the current account — the excess of imports over exports — totalled \$3.9b., compared with \$3.8b. in the same period last year.

The increase in the deficit was largely moderated by a large reduction in defence imports by some \$500m., and by a reduction in the imports of crude oil by some \$400m., which was partly explained by a reduction in the international price.

Excluding military imports, the current account deficit totalled \$3.3b. in the January-September period, compared with \$2.6b. in the same period last year — a 26 per cent increase.

Wage erosion sparks strikes and protests

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
 Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A general strike of postal services is expected today and other government services will be further curtailed as workers step up their protest against recent cuts. But Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad yesterday reiterated his intention to continue to erode wages and to reduce private consumption.

A policeman and two demonstrators were injured yesterday in a violent protest at the Timna Copper Mines near Eilat against the scheduled closing of the mine. In Jerusalem, some 1,000 marchers blocked traffic in another protest against the government's economic policy, while Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir met with teachers' representatives in an effort to head off more labour unrest.

Cohen-Orgad's statements at a meeting of the Knesset Economic Committee seemed to refuel the Histadrut's resolve not to conclude any package deal with the government. In a lengthy statement, the labour federation quoted secretary-general Yehoram Meshel as "rejecting outright" any package deal.

Some of the planned disruptions in the economy are over the government's cuts in public servants' overtime and car allowances. But there are other issues which government workers have now brought forth.

Thus Defence Ministry workers presented a host of demands claiming their pay had been eroded. They refrained from any action yesterday because of a temporary back-to-work order issued last week by the Tel Aviv Labour Court. Hearings are scheduled to resume today.

Labour Ministry workers stopped paying suppliers in their fight for the same allowances given to Health Ministry staffers. The tax men have decided to shorten reception hours in their fight for more pay.

Mail will not be delivered starting today and Postal Banks and other services — including telegrams — are to be cut off, because Com-

munications Ministry staffers claim their wages are too low. Postal workers say their open-ended strike will end only when they achieve wage parity with Health Ministry and court workers.

Disruptions also are expected at a later stage in Amidar, the government housing company.

Government and Histadrut experts told The Jerusalem Post that the Histadrut's civil service because its workers are more numerous and better organized than in the private sector.

A senior government source said private industry is more flexible and pays when it can without fearing other workers' demands for wage linkage. On the other hand, when it cannot pay "and stocks lie out in the yard," workers understand and do not press wage demands, the source said.

The source said the impression he gets from the Treasury is that "the workers can knock their heads against the wall."

Deputy Prime Minister David Levy has advocated a package deal with the Histadrut and private employers, but the prospects for such a deal seemed meager yesterday.

Cohen-Orgad reportedly told the Knesset Economic Committee that the conditions for a package deal "are not ripe." There are no partners for such a deal and if the situation changes "the matter will be examined," Cohen-Orgad's spokeswoman said.

Meshel bore out Cohen-Orgad's point, asking "How can one even think the Histadrut would agree to any 'package deal' on social and economic issues with the incumbent finance minister, when he says time and again... he wants to reduce workers' pay and significantly cut their real income?"

A package deal must be based on a "social contract" among the government, the Histadrut and the private employers, Meshel said, and only when they have a common basic outlook on social and economic issues. "The Histadrut

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Cohen-Orgad: Gov't to sell some firms

By AVI TEMKIN
 Post Economic Reporter

The government plans to sell some of its companies to foreign investors as a means of reducing its intervention in the economy, Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad said yesterday. He added that the sale will total some \$1 billion.

Speaking to the Knesset Economics Committee, Cohen-Orgad said that by the end of the current fiscal year the budget will be cut by some IS75 billion from its level in September. A further slash will be carried out in fiscal 1984, which starts in April.

Arrests said imminent in Terror Against Terror

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
 Jerusalem Post Reporter

Arrests are imminent in the investigation of the so-called Terror Against Terror organization that has claimed responsibility for a series of attacks and attempted attacks against non-Jewish religious institutions in Jerusalem, a source close to the probe has told The Jerusalem Post.

The source reported a "breakthrough" in the case and that people will be brought in and questioned "in the near future."

The police so far have not arrested anybody as either a suspect or a material witness in the planting of boobytrapped grenades that were found on Mt. Zion in Beit Safafa, Husan, and Azariya. Two people were wounded in Azariya, one seriously, when two grenades exploded.

Although the higher police command is reluctant to state that Jews are responsible, lower levels of police, including sources close to the investigation, are convinced that Jews are behind the terror acts.

Unofficial sources have told The Post that police are studying "a list of names" and that one key avenue in the investigation is the 1980 bombings which crippled two West Bank mayors.

Meanwhile, police expressed relief that Christmas passed without any incidents. There were several thousand pilgrims in Jerusalem and its environs during the holiday, and security was beefed up at potential trouble spots in the city and in Bethlehem.

Terror Against Terror has also taken credit for the recent firebombing of automobiles owned by Arabs in Jerusalem and the dashing of a Muslim cemetery's gravestones in Jaffa with the slogan: "TNT — The Hebrew acronym for Terror Against Terror."

In the case of the cemetery dashing, discovered this weekend, police have taken special note that the initials TNT were written in English.

Tami will present its own economic scheme to Knesset

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
 Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Tami Party plans to unveil an alternate economic policy next week that includes severe restrictions on foreign currency purchases and drastic cuts in subsidies to capital, Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Ben-Zion Rubio told The Jerusalem Post last night.

Summing up a meeting last night of Tami leaders Rubio said that "welfare, education and health have been cut enough. Now it is time to look for alternate sources of savings or extra revenue." He said that the full plan would be presented next week in the Knesset in response to the programme to be presented by Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad.

Tami proposes that foreign currency purchases be limited to \$500 per person, instead of \$3,000 at present. Anyone wishing to buy more than \$500 would have to pay a 15 per cent surcharge.

Rubio reiterated Tami's opposition to the proposed health and education fees as socially regressive. He said that the income ceiling on payments to health plans could be raised as an alternative to imposing a flat fee on all members regardless of income.

Responding to criticism by Zehavi, the large families association, that Tami has failed to deliver the benefits promised in the large families bill, Rubio said that Tami would renew its attempts to get it passed in the "next few weeks." (See related item, Page 3)

Rubio confirmed that the child allowances paid through the National Insurance Institute were not updated this month as promised by the Treasury, as part of the agreement to pay an advance on the cost-of-living increment due next month. He said that the child allowances would be revised next month as originally scheduled.

EIGHT PAGES
FROM SUNDAY'S
The New York Times
THE WEEK IN REVIEW
INSIDE TODAY

20.12.83	MIN.	MAX.	C	F	W
AMSTERDAM	4	10	10	50	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	6	11	11	52	Cloudy
BUEENOS AIRES	20	28	24	75	Clear
CHICAGO	27	17	-10	10	Snow
COPENHAGEN	5	11	9	48	Clear
FRANKFURT	10	15	13	55	Rain
GENEVA	7	15	11	52	Cloudy
HELSINKI	-7	10	14	57	Cloudy
HONG KONG	12	15	15	59	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	18	25	21	70	Cloudy
LISBON	9	15	12	54	Cloudy
LONDON	7	15	10	50	Clear
MADRID	0	14	17	63	Clear
MONTREAL	-23	-4	-13	9	Cloudy
NEW YORK	-15	-4	-10	14	Cloudy
OSLO	-8	-1	-3	27	Clear
PARIS	8	14	11	52	Clear
RIO DE JANEIRO	20	28	24	75	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	18	24	21	70	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	-8	-1	-3	27	Clear
TOKYO	6	13	10	50	Cloudy
TORONTO	-20	-12	-10	10	Cloudy
VIENNA	5	11	13	55	Cloudy
ZURICH	5	10	8	46	Clear

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy, possibility of rain

Jerusalem	Humidity	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	71	6-10	12
Golan	55	6-10	10
Nahariya	88	9-12	14
Safed	98	5-6	8
Haifa Port	66	11-15	17
Tiberias	—	10-14	16
Nazareth	80	6-12	14
Afula	85	7-13	16
Shimon	95	6-11	13
Tel Aviv	63	11-18	18
S-G Airport	86	10-16	20
Jericho	55	8-17	20
Gaza	89	10-17	17
Beersheba	80	8-14	16
Eilat	51	8-17	20

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

A panel discussion on "Christian Support for Israel — at What Price?" will be held tonight at 8 p.m., Israel Centre, 10 Straus St., Jerusalem. Among the participants: Dr. Yoel Cohen, lecturer in political science, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, and Greer Casbmen, The Jerusalem Post.

Temple mount debate quashed

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent

The Alignment Knesset faction ruled yesterday against the idea of Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount and ordered Alignment MK Shoshana "Arbelle-Almoshino," who heads the "Interior Committee," to drop her proposal to discuss the idea in committee.

Faction chairman Shimon Peres said: "The subject is dynamic."

Uzi Baram, who demanded the faction discussion after Arbelle raised her proposal, said: "Extremist Jewish elements are trying to disturb the peace in Jerusalem. The great rabbis have all forbidden Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount. The Likud agrees with the Alignment in objecting to Jewish prayer there. The only group which calls for prayer on the Mount is the Tehiya party with its cheap demagoguery."

Arbelle said: "According to a 1942 Mandatory ordinance Jews have the right to pray on the Mount, but it's up to the Interior Minister to gazette the required regulations."

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolek, who attended the faction meeting, said: "Those who demand the right to pray on the Mount are exploiting religion for nationalist objectives. There's nothing more vital than keeping the peace in Jerusalem and ensuring tranquil coexistence with the Arabs."

Rabbi Menahem Hacohen said: "No observant Jew would set foot on the Mount, let alone pray there."

80-year-old woman dies in house fire

RISHON LEZION (Itim). — Hanna Golding, 80, of Moshav Netaim died in a fire in her home early yesterday morning. She lived in the house with her sister who escaped unhurt. Cause of the blaze is believed to be an overturned candle.

ARMS. — France is to begin delivery soon of a big arms shipment to the Lebanese Army.

The Promised Land Ltd., Travel Office, Jerusalem congratulates Mr. Yehuda Porat on the occasion of his birthday.

To the Chairman of the Board Mr. Georg Faktor, and his Wife and Board Member Mr. Henry H. Faktor, and his Wife

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Two men arrested in Tiberias hotel fire

By HAIM SHAPIRO and MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporters

TIBERIAS. — Police are holding two residents on suspicion of setting fire to the Hotel Nitzan on Sunday night.

One man was arrested late Sunday night and the other was arrested yesterday morning.

Although neither is ultra-Orthodox, police are checking whether they might have been acting on behalf of ultra-Orthodox elements angry over alleged missionary activities at the hotel.

Ultra-Orthodox Jews yesterday said missionary activity is on the increase. Various Christian sects are offering money, clothes, jewelry and tennis shoes to Jews who will listen to missionary lectures, they charged.

The Christmas burning of the hotel is the latest in a series of actions harassing the group, a member told The Jerusalem Post yesterday.

Kenneth Crowell said in a telephone interview that until now the members of his group had not gone to the press because they did not want to cause bad publicity for Israel. "But now it's getting out of hand," he said.

The hotel had been criticized by Jewish anti-missionary groups who claimed it is the focus of missionary activity. As a result, the owners closed the hotel and asked the group to leave.

Another group member Reuben Berger, said the harassment included breaking into prayer meetings and photographing those present. One photograph of the children of the community was published in a leaflet which said that the group was taking children off the streets, he said.

Berger, who said he is a Jew from the U.S. who believes in Jesus, described the 50-member group as an unaffiliated gathering of Jews from Israel and abroad together with gentiles who love Israel. All share a belief in Jesus as the messiah and hold their meetings in Hebrew with a translation in English.

The impetus for the action against the group had come from 'Yad Le'Achim, the anti-missionary group, and from a local yeshiva, Kolel Yehuda, he said. Berger denied that the group engaged in any missionary activity and said that on one occasion, members had even asked outsiders who were distributing a tract to stop.

In their attacks on the group, its opponents had smashed windows, in one case hitting a woman in the head with a stone, and broken into homes of members. One Jewish family from the U.S. had left the country under the pressure, he said, although their son, an officer in the IDF, had remained.

According to the latest information, Berger said, members of the Tiberias underworld are being offered money to attack the group.

Gov't accused of stopping its development of Golan

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

KATZRIN. — The heads of Golan Heights settlements complained yesterday that during the last two years the government has stopped developing the area.

Budgets that were to have gone for development of the Golan were denied elsewhere, they charged. Planned apartments and factories were not built, with the result that hundreds of families wishing to settle on the Golan cannot be accommodated.

The settlement heads complained that two years ago, when the government extended Israeli law to the Golan, it announced intentions to settle an additional 20,000 Jews in the area within five years. However, only 8,000 Jews live in the Golan today, mostly in Katzrin. There are 28 other settlements.

Construction of three settlements planned for the last two years has not started. These settlements are B'nei Chini, Kibbutz Kela and the Nahal outpost Nimrod, which is to become a civilian settlement.

Shimon Sheves and Eitan Liss, two council heads, said the government no longer considers the Golan a development area or a national goal.

They said 700 housing units must be built annually in the area, instead of the current 200. They added that they have asked for an urgent meeting with Deputy Prime Minister and Housing Minister David Levy on the matter.

"If the state invested on the Golan one week's worth of what it invests in bank shares, the Golan would look different," Sheves said.

Golan settlements are now ranked by the government as A-plus development towns, but residents said there should be a new category for them — A-plus-plus.

The Syrians, meanwhile, are said to be going ahead with ambitious projects, they said. A new Syrian town north of Kuneitra is three times larger than Katzrin.

\$125 travel tax angers airlines

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Panel of Airlines Operating in Israel yesterday said the proposed \$125 travel tax is equivalent to more than 35 per cent of the entire fare to nearby destinations.

"It will be a heavy burden on Israelis travelling abroad — especially those going to Europe," the panel said. More than 60 per cent of the Israelis who fly do not go far, "and the new tax will hurt especially those buying cheap tickets," it added.

Israel is the only country in the free world where a travel tax is levied, the airlines noted. "Even if this (tax) is a necessity, it should be kept within reasonable bounds and not exaggerated," the panel complained.

The airlines said they reduced fares to try and promote tourism to Israel, but an increase in traffic cannot be based only on one-way traffic.

Holes plugged in foreign currency laws

Post Economic Reporter

The Bank of Israel yesterday decided to close two loopholes in the regulations on foreign currency purchases for travel purposes.

According to the regulations published yesterday, Israelis who purchase foreign currency up to the permitted \$3,000 and then cancel the trip will have to return the foreign currency immediately.

Travellers going to Egypt will have to show a certificate from Israel's Federation of Travel Agents confirming registration in a group tour to that country or a visa to Egypt.

Inquiry into Egyptian's death in jail

By LIORA MORIEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

EILAT. — A magistrates court judge has been appointed to look into the circumstances surrounding the death in jail here last week of an Egyptian. Israeli authorities say he committed suicide, but semi-official Egyptian newspapers charge that he was murdered.

Fauzi Mihal was found dead in his cell after he was arrested for crossing illegally into the country. The Egyptians have asked for Mihal's body, but police have obtained a court order for an autopsy to be carried out at the Abu Kabir Forensic Institute.

Another Egyptian who entered the country illegally has been expelled after spending three days in the local lockup. Halil Mahmoud Ibn Ibrahim, 54, claimed to be Lebanese when apprehended near the border four days ago.

The Egyptian consul in Eilat, Hassan Issar, was said to be angry when he first heard of Ibrahim's arrest through the media, but police spokesmen explained that standing procedure does not require reporting of such incidents to consulates. Local police report to national headquarters, the spokesman said, which in turn contact the embassy involved.

Double-murderer's appeal turned down

The Supreme Court yesterday rejected the appeal of Tuvia Oshri, who was sentenced to life in prison in 1981 for the 1980 double-murder of Azar Cohoe and Amos Orioo. The court also rejected the appeals of Yitzhak Aharori and Yisrael Danooch, sentenced to two years and 18 months respectively, for destroying evidence of the crime.

Justices Yitzhak Kahan, Shlomo Levin and Dov Levin found no reason to overturn the Tel Aviv District Court's ruling, finding inconsistencies between Oshri's testimony and that of Aharori. Kahan stressed that, in his opinion, the district court could have convicted Oshri whether or not his testimony had been believable.

In the double-murder at Oshri's Bar-Bakar meat-packing plant, Oshri shot Cohen and Orioo in the back with an Uzi submachine gun after Orioo tried to extort \$300,000 in payment for his silence regarding Oshri's alleged involvement in another murder. (Itim)



Shite members of the Amal militia fire a recoilless gun at Lebanese Army positions in the southern suburbs of Beirut yesterday. (UPI telephoto)

Expanded EEC worries Knesset

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Post Knesset Reporter

The Knesset yesterday expressed "deep concern" regarding the consequences for Israel's agricultural exports by the expected admission of Spain and Portugal as full members in the European Economic Community.

This concern was expressed in a resolution presented on behalf of the Likud and Alignment by Economic Committee chairman Gad Ya'acobi (Alignment), after a plenary discussion by members of the Knesset delegation to the annual dialogue with the European Parliament, held earlier in the month at Strasbourg.

Knesset Speaker Menahem Savidor, who headed the delegation, announced that President

Chaim Herzog would be invited to address the European Parliament sometime in 1984.

This was agreed on between Savidor and officials of the European Parliament, in view of the fact that in the past King Hussein of Jordan and the late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat were invited.

Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Patt, who wound up the debate, said Spain and Portugal are expected to win full admission to the EEC sometime between 1985 and 1987. Israel will have to adopt marketing methods "suited to the eighties" if it hopes to compete with them, he said.

Dan Tichon (Likud-Liberals) said Israel is working against its own interests by sharing its know-how in

agricultural development with Spain.

Ya'acobi called the Common Market with its 15270 million potential customers, the "principal key" to Israel's economic future.

Naftali Blumenthal (Alignment) said the ministries involved have no united policy in their relations with the Common Market. "There is no guiding hand," he said.

The Knesset resolution also called for working for closer relations with the EEC, "in view of the political and economic importance of such relations."

The resolution further called on the government to arrange immediate negotiations on the establishment of a free trade zone for agricultural products between Israel and the Common Market.

Mondale raps U.S. support for Arafat-Mubarak meeting

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — President Ronald Reagan's controversial decision to promote an Egyptian-PLO rapprochement has surfaced as an issue in the presidential campaign.

The Democratic front-runner, former vice-president Walter Mondale, said the administration's "enthusiasm" for PLO chairman Yasser Arafat's meeting last Thursday with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo "makes another unexplained detour on the road to peace in the Middle East."

In a formal statement issued by his aides, Mondale said the administration should make it clear that the PLO must accept the Camp David accords as a basis for peace "rather than cheering a sudden and mysterious meeting with an unknown agenda."

Mondale, in a separate interview published yesterday in The New York Times, sharply lashed out against various aspects of Reagan's Middle East policies, although he praised the efforts during Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's visit last

last month to strengthen U.S.-Israeli strategic ties.

The former vice-president has made a major drive to attract Jewish support around the country. Among the Democrats, he is emerging as the clear favorite in the Jewish community.

In the interview, Mondale was especially critical of earlier efforts in the Reagan administration to "beat up on Israel" while at the same time courting favor in Saudi Arabia and Jordan in an attempt to promote the peace process. "I don't think that's the way it's done and it shakes confidence in Israel," he said.

"The Saudis, he continued, are not about to risk 'Palestinian extremism in the Middle East, and I don't believe that that has ever been true."

"I think, in all respects, for at least three years," he said, "the administration was afraid to be seen in public with the Israelis, and I think that's a mistake. I think we need a public, strategic, cooperative relationship with Israel. They may be moving that way, finally. And I think steadfastness will be respected in the Middle East."

Pressure to withdraw Marines predicted

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Two U.S. congressmen visiting Israel predicted yesterday that when Congress reconvenes next month, the pressure on the administration will grow to bring the troops home from Lebanon.

Congressman Mickey Leland, a Democrat from Houston, said there is a "growing sentiment in the American people" that the U.S. Marines in Beirut should be extricated as soon as possible. "Congressmen are going to feel the pressure," Leland said, once the current recess ends. And they will convey their constituents' sentiments forcefully to the administration, he added.

Congressman Henry Waxman, a Democrat from Los Angeles, said President Ronald Reagan would

have to provide persuasive arguments that the Marines' presence in Lebanon "can lead to stabilization there."

Other wise, Waxman said, public opinion would overwhelmingly support removal of the Marines.

Leland and Waxman are members of a group of seven U.S. legislators currently visiting Israel as guests of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. Yesterday, they heard Premier Yitzhak Shamir castigate Washington's welcome for the Arafat-Mubarak meeting — and found themselves largely in agreement with him.

Waxman told newsmen that had Congress been in session now, there would doubtless have been an outcry against the administration's support.

Waxman said the State Department had been "foolishly simplistic," and Leland said it had

U.S. frowns on Jesse Jackson trip

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The White House yesterday suggested that Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson's planned trip to Damascus later this week is likely to complicate — rather than facilitate — ongoing diplomatic efforts to win the release of a captured U.S. pilot, Lt. Robert Goodman.

A spokesman said that recent history has shown that such private efforts have usually set back similar negotiations. This was an apparent reference to the 444-day U.S. hostage ordeal in Iran during the Carter administration.

"At the president's direction, diplomatic efforts are under way, as they have been since Lt. Goodman's capture, to secure his release," spokesman Mark Weinberg said. "History has proven that efforts of this type have a better chance for success when they are not politicized."

Jackson and a delegation of other pro-Arab activists were invited by the Syrian ambassador in Washington, Rafi Jouejati, to discuss the captivity of Goodman.

Pressure to withdraw Marines predicted

"responded too quickly."

Leland and Congressman Julian Dixon (Democrat — California), both of whom are blacks, said they welcomed the candidacy of Jesse Jackson for the Democratic presidential nomination — even though neither had actually endorsed him, and even though he had no realistic chance of winning the nomination.

They said Jackson's candidacy appealed to new and hitherto disaffected sections of the black community which previously had no interest in politics. It would lead to increased voter-registration, which was itself a welcome development.

At about 10 a.m., demonstrators staged a sit-in on road, placing several large moving machines on the highway. Because they had earlier pronounced not to close off the highway to police used what they termed "reasonable force" and tear break up the protest. Witnesses, however, said the force used was "excessive."

By noon, one policeman and demonstrators were in hospital with minor injuries, and highway was open again.

Pressure to withdraw Marines predicted

With deep sorrow, we announce the passing of

KARL MAY 57

The funeral will take place today, Tuesday, December 27, 1983 at 1.15 p.m., at the Kfar Samir cemetery. A bus will leave from Beit Horim, 7 Mapu Street, Haifa, at 12.30 p.m.

His wife, Sophie
His daughter, Aliza, and Joseph Engle
His grandchildren, and all the family

On the first anniversary of the death of our beloved

Dr. HANS KADISCH

We shall meet at his grave on Thursday, December 29, 1983 at 3.00 p.m. at the Kiryat Shaul Cemetery.

The Family

On the tenth anniversary of the passing of

Dr. David Menachem Hubner 57

a memorial meeting will be held at his grave on Thursday, December 29 (Tevet 23) at 3 p.m. at the Kfar Shmaryahu cemetery.

THE FAMILY

Shapira complains about three 'Liberals' Sabbath vote

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent

Coalition chairman Avraham Shapira, who is also the leader of the Agudat Yisrael Knesset faction, complained to Premier Yitzhak Shamir last night about three Liberal MKs who failed to support the coalition last week to a debate on bus transport on the Sabbath.

Shapira spoke at a meeting of the coalition executive to which Shamir was invited.

Agudat Yisrael said last week its members would boycott plenum sessions until the matter was sorted out.

Shamir promised Shapira that he would talk to the three Liberals today and report back to Shapira.

Benny Shalit voted with the opposition and Speaker Menahem

Savidor and Pinhas Goldstein — abstained.

The 1981 coalition agreement contains a ban on Sabbath buses, but Transport Minister Haim Corfu only started implementing the ban earlier this month.

Coalition MKs reportedly complained to Shamir that some of their colleagues were neglecting to attend sessions of the House. Science and Development Minister Yuval Ne'eman and Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon came in for special criticism for allegedly taking too many trips abroad.

Former finance minister Yoram Aridor was said hardly to come to the House at all.

Shamir promised that he would limit coalition MKs' trips abroad and see to it that they attended plenum sessions.

Israel seeks to send panel to Argentina

Jerusalem Post staff

Israel is seeking to send observers to an Argentinian legal investigation of the disappearance of an estimated 20,000 people after being arrested by that country's former military regime, MK Uzi Baram said yesterday.

Some 1,500 of the missing persons are thought to be Jewish.

Israel Radio said last night that Baram, head of a Knesset panel on the missing Argentine Jews, could now travel to Argentina, although he was previously declared persona non grata there.

Zehavi wants Tami to quit the government over aid 'deceit'

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The heads of Zehavi, the large families association, yesterday accused the government and the Tami party of "deceiving" them about the aid promised to large families, and urged the party to quit the government in order to help the families' plight.

Zehavi chairman Avraham Danino told reporters in Jerusalem that the slight increase in child allowances for large families granted in April has not made up for the erosion in the value of all allowances since the Ben-Zur tax reform of 1975.

And even that increase has been eroded by the price rises of the last months," Danino said.

Who remembers now that the Zehavi tax was introduced by Tami for the benefits in the large

families bill, most of which have now been eroded. The travel tax is updated fully each month, but child allowances are revised only every three months, and at only 80 per cent of the increase in the consumer-price-index," Danino said.

The Zehavi leaders noted that 15,500,000 was supposed to be set aside this year for education grants in large families, but that part of the law was never passed. "Instead, we are about to be hit with the proposed 'education fee,' which most large families will be obligated to pay," said Danino.

The said that during the last few years many large families, especially those in Zehavi, have awakened to the importance of education for their children's future, and have set aside some of the money from the monthly National Insurance In-

stitutes child allowances to pay for books, field trips, museums and enrichment classes.

"But now," Danino said, "the child allowances pay for only half what they used to."

Since October, the NII child allowance for a family with four children has been 159,923 and 1514,372 for a family with five children.

The Zehavi leaders presented a table showing that if the child allowances had been kept at the level set by the tax reform — 5 per cent of the average wage for each tax credit point — then a family with four children should be getting 1514,100 today instead of 159,923.

The table also shows that allowances for all families have eroded, with a credit point today worth 2.5 per cent of the average wage, instead of 5 per cent eight

years ago.

Hebrew University Prof. Eliezer Jaffe, a Zehavi founder, said that in the Jerusalem chapter, half of those families who signed up for a highly subsidized set of basic reference books for their children have cancelled their orders, since they are now forced to spend most of their money on food.

Danino said that if Tami is really serious about helping large families, it should leave the government at once. He also blasted Housing Minister David Levy for reacting to the austerity measures only after they hit the public, instead of doing something to forestall them.

The Zehavi leaders demanded that the child allowances be updated every month, fully linked to the CPI. They also condemned the proposed education levy.

Statue of Virgin Mary 'bleeds' in South Lebanon

By YOEL DAR
Special to The Jerusalem Post

Thousands of Lebanese have begun flocking to the tiny village of Remish to see a statue of the Virgin Mary which has been reported to be bleeding. The spiritual leader of the Greek Catholic Church, Archbishop Maronite Salloum, last week visited the Maronite church in Remish South Lebanon and returned three photographs of the statue covered

with blood. He said yesterday that the miracle reflects the virgin's deep pain at the blood shed by her beloved sons in Lebanon.

The story started several weeks ago when the head of the Maronite village of Remish one morning last November saw that the statue had turned red. Astonished to see the statue bleeding, he also noticed that one of its eyes was distorted and the neck was cut by a sharp knife. He told clergymen from Tyre and Sidon

what he had seen and when they went to Remish, they reportedly saw the statue continue to bleed daily for two weeks. They then ordered the statue placed in the Maronite church. When Archbishop Maronite Salloum last week, he saw that the bleeding had decreased and that the blood is now mixed with olive oil. He has asked the prime minister's adviser on Arab affairs, Binyamin Gur-Arye to allow a group of Israeli Christian clergymen to go to Remish and see the statue.

Childhood memories at murder inquiry

TEL AVIV (Him) — The tense atmosphere which prevailed in the Tel Aviv community after the murder of Labour Zionist leader Haim Arlosoroff, over 50 years ago, was revived yesterday by Judge Alon Gil-son, secretary of the commission investigating the circumstances of the murder. Prof. Theodore Weinschall, 10 when the murder took place, Dan von Weisel was 17. The der was frequently discussed by his parents, they said.

Weinschall's family were Zionists (forerunners of today's Labour Party), but maintained good relations with friends with Mapii convictions. Prof. Weinschall said, "After the murder, 'a good friend of my parents, a Mapii member, asked me whether my father's car was parked outside the house on the night of the murder,' witness recalled. The reason for the question was that it had been alleged that Avraham Stavsky, whom authorities accused of the murder, was supposed to drive by the Tel Aviv seashore to meet Arlosoroff. When my parents heard of the questioning, they were shocked." The commission ordered

that the name of the friend not be made public.

Lewy Dan von Weisel, the son of Zeev Jabotinsky's associate Dr. Wolfgang von Weisel, said his father was very outspoken, and was arrested twice after the murder. On one occasion, he went on a hunger strike and was transferred to the hospital in the prison in the Russian Compound in Jerusalem. There he met Abdul Majid, an Arab convicted of murder on another charge, who, von Weisel said, confessed to his father to murdering Arlosoroff. "I asked my father why he had not reported the fact to the authorities, but my father said it would be of no avail, because Abdul Majid would deny the confession in public."

Another witness was Prof. Alexander, of Ben-Gurion University. He quoted a friend, the late Abraham Arest, a leading member of the Jewish branch of the Ahud HaAvoda Party, who said Stavsky could not have been in Tel Aviv at the time of the murder, because he was then in Jerusalem. But when Arest reported this to Berl Katzenelson, a Mapii leader, he was told to keep his mouth shut. However, Arest later made a public statement, Alexander said.

Vashem to honour 4 Polish women

Four Polish women who rescued Jewish children and adults from the hands of the Nazis during the man occupation of Poland will be honoured at a tree-planting ceremony at the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial at 11 a.m. today.

The four are Janina Syz, then of Warsaw, but now living in Warsaw; Klodnicka-Batavia, of Warsaw; and Leokadia Majewska and late mother, Anna Gynalska, of Warsaw.

Information about Majewska's mother was given by Rina opolski, now living in Israel. She fled from the Warsaw Ghetto in August 1942, she dered around Warsaw until she was picked up by Majewska, who took her home. Majewska, a

teacher with three small children and a husband imprisoned by the Germans, raised Rina together with her family with her mother's help despite their poverty.

Two years later, Majewska and her mother also gave refuge to Rina's father and her brother-in-law.

The tree in honour of Majewska and her mother will be planted by Majewska's son now visiting the country.

Search for stolen equipment at Safad hospital

SAFAD (Him) — Health Ministry officials yesterday conducted surprise inspections in an effort to stem apparent widespread theft of medical equipment from the Rebecca Sieff Hospital.

Officials searched the cars of both visitors and workers leaving the hospital grounds. Several drivers objected to the length and stringency of the inspections.

In recent months, doctors have complained that expensive equipment has been missing. Ministry officials have conducted searches in the past, during which several hospital workers were arrested on suspicion of theft. They are awaiting trial.

SEMINAR. — The three-day seventh international seminar on world Jewry and the State of Israel, which opened at Beit Hanassi last night, is attended by more than 30 scholars from North America, Latin America, South Africa and Europe, as well as dozens of Israeli professors.

New device restores hearing

Jerusalem Post Reporter

KFAR SABA. — Several thousand Israelis partially or totally deaf because of one of the small bones of the middle ear — the stirrup — is destroyed, can now regain their hearing.

Professor Ya'acov Sadeh, head of the Ear, Nose and Throat Department of Meir Hospital, said this yesterday when confirming reports of his work appearing in foreign medical journals. He stressed, however, that his breakthrough was limited to a specific operation, and was not a cure-all for all cases of deafness.

One of his patients, who had his hearing restored 15 years ago, hears with a high degree of acuity.

His latest series of operations dealt with 20 patients, ranging in age from a girl of 12, born without a stirrup in either ear, up to several persons above age 60. They were completely successful, Sadeh said. Hearing was restored in about three weeks.

His invention consisted of producing a stirrup which the body does not reject.

"Other artificial stapes (the medical name for the body) have generally been made of plastic, but after some time the body rejected them," he said.

His prosthesis has two parts: the one touching the ear-drum is made from another of the tiny bones in the inner ear, the hammer.

Part of the hammer is snipped



Prof. Ya'acov Sadeh

away, and this piece serves as the base for the second part, which at first was made of teflon and now of ceramic. A tiny hole is bored in the hammer and the ceramic is fitted in. The device is only five millimetres long and one millimetre wide. The operation is performed by microsurgery, while the patient is under total anesthesia.

The prosthesis is being manufactured in the U.S. and should cost about \$20, Sadeh said.

Asked how much the complete treatment — examination, microsurgery, implantation of the prosthesis — cost, Sadeh said it was free, like all operations performed for members of Kupat Holim Clalit in Kupat Holim hospitals.

3 officers jailed over soldier's injury

TEL AVIV (Him) — Three IDF captains yesterday were given jail terms for negligence which resulted in a soldier being permanently disabled.

The Central District Military Court found that one of the captains, then serving near Beirut, found an American-made TOW rocket in its launcher, which he transported in his tank in order to show to his men.

When the unit returned to Israel, the second captain ordered the live rocket unloaded in an IDF firing zone in the Jordan Valley. There it was discovered by the roadside by a corporal, who loaded it into his armoured personnel carrier and began handling it.

The corporal's comrades warned him against touching it and, when

he continued, they reported this to their commander, the third captain. The captain ignored their warning and the rocket ignited, striking the corporal in the head.

Although the rocket's warhead did not explode, the corporal suffered permanent brain damage. He is hospitalized in a coma in a condition described as "a vegetable."

The court found that all three officers violated elementary rules of security. The captain who abandoned the rocket was sentenced to six months imprisonment, three suspended; the captain who ignored the soldiers' warning was given five months, three suspended; and the captain who transported the rocket was given four months, three suspended.

Prison murder probe blames 2 officials

RAMLE (Him) — The security chief of Ramle Prison is to be transferred and a senior warder is to face disciplinary action following the recommendations of an official inquiry into the murder of inmate Haim Shushan.

A Prisons Service spokesman said yesterday that the inquiry had concluded that, despite the proper functioning of monitoring apparatus in the cell where Shushan was killed to death over a month ago, his murder could not be prevented because security regulations were not fully observed.

Prisons Service veteran Sgan Gundar Shalom Rosolio, who headed the inquiry, said further that there was no way of anticipating or preventing Shushan's murder.

Nevertheless, the cellblock

sergeant responsible for inmate discipline and for closing the cell doors was found to have been negligent and is to face a disciplinary trial. There were no details available about the security chief.

Parts of the report released yesterday remain classified, because they touch on sensitive areas of prison security. Inmates Shmaya Angel, Herzl Avitan and Ya'acov Shemesh have been indicted for Shushan's murder, based on a video recording of a portion of the murder.

DEDICATED. — A small commercial centre and a sixth school was dedicated yesterday in the Beidun town of Rahat in the northern Negev.



Housing Ministry director-general Asher Vimer scoops up cement yesterday as he lays the cornerstone of a school in the new Beidun settlement of Segev Shalom in the Negev. (Israel Simonsky)

'Loosened but real siege' reported in Deir al-Kamar

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — A spokesman for a group of Christians living in Israel who visited Deir al-Kamar recently said yesterday that the Shouf Mountain town is still under a "loosened but real siege," and the people who were not evacuated "are deprived of most comforts."

Grant Livingstone was one of 22 Christians who travelled through areas controlled by Druse to reach the town.

"Most of the villages in the area are rather desolate, although some look normal," Livingstone said. He

added that most Druse he spoke with said the massacres of Christians several months ago were carried out by a minority, and the Druse community as a whole is not guilty.

Five thousand Christian civilians remain in Deir al-Kamar, Livingstone said, adding that they preferred to stay in their homes rather than risk living in Beirut.

Many Christians asked him to thank Israel for helping in the evacuation, Livingstone said. They told him that their future safety also depends on Israel.

Treasurers warn of darker streets

By AARON SITNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Despite the current wave of kidnappings and homicides, street lighting in the country's cities and towns may be reduced or shut off altogether, treasurers of local authorities warned this week at an emergency meeting in Tel Aviv.

"The municipalities are facing total financial collapse, and most of them cannot meet their next payroll," the treasurers said in a statement. "We shall have to curtail or eliminate such vital public services as street illumination or routine social services unless the government comes up with all the money it owes the local authorities."

In reply to a question, an Interior Ministry spokesman told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday: "The treasurers don't know what they are talking about. The government has already provided the local authorities with 60 per cent of this year's allocation, and the remaining 40 per cent — 1512 million under the adjusted budget — will be in their hands, on a monthly basis, by April 1."

There is "absolutely no crisis" due to governmental action or inaction, the spokesman said. "If certain local authorities are in financial trouble, it is their own fault. They should conduct their affairs according to the guidelines outlined by the Ministry of Interior."

Concern over Golan meat quality

Heads of Jewish settlements in the Golan are concerned over the absence of veterinary services in Druse villages in the area and the effect on the quality of meat from those villages. Settlement leaders say that animal slaughter in these villages is unsupervised and that

there is no proper prior inspection of animals. The meat is sold in restaurants in the Golan as well as in markets in other areas.

A veterinarian in Kiryat Shmona said most of the beef sold in the Golan Druse villages has not been inspected and only a portion of it is from animals slaughtered in authorized abattoirs.

The head of the Mas'ada council, Mohammed Abu Salah, said they have not been able to find a veterinarian who would come to the Druse villages. (Him).

Thefts by computer reported to Knesset

Post Economic Reporter

The use of computers to embezzle money from government ministries and the National Insurance Institute was reported yesterday to the Knesset State Control Committee.

The Treasury's deputy accountant-general Nathan Meir said his department had uncovered an attempt to steal about 152.5 million with the help of the computer. Meir added there is insufficient control over the government's computers.

Committee chairman Avraham Katz-Oz said that large sums may have been embezzled without anyone noticing it. He added that the computers are not protected against leaks, falsifications and theft of information.

LAUREATE. — Nobel Prize laureate Prof. Steven Weinberg, physicist from the University of Texas, will direct the first Jerusalem Winter School for Theoretical Physics, to be held December 28 through January 6 at the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Missing girl turns up in Ashkelon

ASHKELON (Him) — A 17-year-old Jerusalem girl, missing for more than five weeks turned up yesterday in Ashkelon.

Ellat Mizrahi came to a welfare bureau in the company of a soldier and requested to be placed in a boarding school because her father had been reported missing, they notified police, who notified her parents.

The girl is the daughter of an Eged driver and was in possession of a card which allowed her to ride free.

Meanwhile, a 16-year-old Hafia girl, who failed to come home on Sunday night, called her parents yesterday from a friend's house in Tiberias to tell them she was safe. Police had conducted an overnight search for her.

U.S. sailor found dead outside Tel Aviv hotel

TEL AVIV (Him) — An American sailor apparently fell to his death from the eighth storey of the Carlton Penia Hotel yesterday morning.

The sailor, aged 30, spent the evening drinking in the hotel bar with friends. Towards dawn, they took him up to his room, put him to bed and returned to the bar. During the early morning, they heard a heavy thud and went outside where they found the body.

The body has been transferred to the Institute of Forensic Medicine at Abu Kabir. American authorities have been informed of the death.

Merry Christmas for robbed U.S. sailor

HAIFA (Him) — A Tel Aviv export-import company has reimbursed an American sailor serving on the aircraft carrier Independence for the money taken from him when he was attacked and robbed Friday night.

After hearing of the incident, the company contacted the Dan Carmel hotel in Haifa, and made arrangements to have \$60 given to the sailor. A hotel official said a cheque was sent to him along with wishes for a Merry Christmas through a ship officer staying in the hotel.

Kibbutzniks to mark Youth Aliya jubilee

TEL AVIV. — Former Youth Aliya children who are now kibbutzniks with "adopted" Youth Aliya children of their own will get together at the Naftali Club here this afternoon as part of Youth Aliya's 50th anniversary celebrations.

The four-hour reunion will include brief talks by three (one from each kibbutz movement) about their absorption into a kibbutz where they came to Israel and about how they are helping today's Youth Aliya children, who are mostly *sabra* from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Heroin, hash dealer gets year in prison

TEL AVIV (Him) — A Tel Kabir resident yesterday was sentenced to a year in prison plus three years suspended for selling heroin and hashish to an undercover policeman and for possessing an unlicensed pistol.

Haim Sahag, 32, was convicted of dealing in the drugs from November 1982 to March 1983. District Court Judge Haim Steinhilber took into account Sahag's expressed desire to reform when passing sentence.

MIDDLE EAST MILITARY BALANCE 1983



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South Africans said holding town 200 km. inside Angola

LISBON (Reuters). — Angola yesterday said that South Africa has occupied the town of Cassinga, more than 200 kilometres inside Angola, in a big military operation throughout the south of the country.

The official Angolan news agency ANGOP reported Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Venancio de Moura saying that the invaders occupied the town last Thursday.

De Moura said the invading force included three motorized brigades, four artillery groups and a force of 100 planes which constantly flew overhead and bombed economic targets as well as schools and villages.

He said the aim of the operation was to create a climate of terror and panic among the population so as to destabilize the country.

The minister, speaking at a weekend press conference in Luanda, said the Angolan armed forces successfully beat back a

South African attack on Caluando, Kuando Kubango province, killing six soldiers, three black and three white, shooting down a Mirage fighter and capturing large quantities of arms. In Pretoria, a defence force spokesman declined to comment on Angolan reports that South African planes bombed several villages in southern Angola on Saturday.

He said he could not add to a statement last week by military chief General Constand Viljoen that the republic's forces were conducting a limited campaign in Angola against guerrillas of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

South Africa says it is trying to pre-empt the annual offensive into Namibia (South-West Africa) from Angola by SWAPO which traditionally begins about now, when rains and sprouting vegetation provide good cover for guerrillas.



Iceicles form on oranges when the weather reached well below zero in Daytona Beach, Florida, early on Sunday morning while sprinklers were still turned on. (UPI/telephoto)

Rome judge orders kidnap victims not to meet press

ROME (AP). — A Rome judge yesterday ordered a Bulgari jewelry store heiress and her son to postpone a news conference they called to describe their "kidnap ordeal" in the hands of kidnappers who brutally cut off the boy's ear without medication.

Anna Bulgari Callisotti, 56, and 16-year-old Giorgio were freed on Christmas Eve south of Rome after the family paid a ransom. Carmine Punzi, the family's lawyer, quoted doctors as saying yesterday that the condition of Callisotti and her son worsened yesterday and that they needed "absolute rest." They were examined yesterday by a cardiologist and a plastic surgeon who is expected to perform an operation to put the severed ear back on Giorgio.

On Sunday, Punzi announced that they would meet with reporters yesterday, but hours before the scheduled news conference, the magistrate ordered the family to put off their meeting with reporters on

til their interrogation is over. Giorgio's right ear was completely cut off in what doctors described as a "rough manner," by the kidnappers as a warning and left in a Rome trash can a week ago Sunday. It was rushed to a local clinic where it remains in a freezer, doctors said. "The amputation took place without any form of anesthesia," Punzi said. He added that Giorgio's condition was not very good. He said the infection developed in the ear wound appeared to be more serious than previously thought.

He also said the boy had lost 14 kilograms and his mother 10 kilograms.

AFGHANISTAN. — Twenty Indian national legislators and a group of intellectuals urged Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government yesterday to extend "effective moral and material support" to Moslem rebels battling Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

Nakasone cabinet to restore 'harmony'

TOKYO (AP). — Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone began his second term yesterday by forming a cabinet designed to restore harmony within his ruling Liberal Democratic Party after a major setback in recent national elections. Emperor Hirohito, 82-year-old symbol of the state, will attend to the new cabinet's appointment this morning.

With order restored after two months of political chaos triggered by the bribery conviction of former prime minister Kakei Tanaka, Nakasone must now, with a reduced Diet (parliament) majority, push through a tight budget for next year and respond to touchy U.S. and European requests to further open Japan's markets to imports.

Earlier in the day the 65-year-old Nakasone was endorsed by the Diet lower house with the LDP's slim

majority in the 511-seat chamber. Of the 509 votes cast, Nakasone received 266 against 113 for Japan Socialist Party chairman Masashi Ishibashi. The remaining 130 votes, cast along party lines, went to heads of other opposition parties.

Opposition parties boycotted the Diet for 838 days and forced Nakasone to call elections six months early when Tanaka, Japan's most powerful backroom political kingmaker, refused to give up his lower house seat after his Oct 12 conviction for accepting bribes to promote sales of Lockheed Corp. aircraft in the early 1970s.

Hurt by the opposition's "political ethics" campaign, the conservative, pro-West LDP won only 250 seats in the December 18 elections, down from 285 before the voting. It subsequently reelected nine like-minded independents to

restore its working majority, and yesterday scored a minor coup by forming an alliance with the new Liberal Club, a conservative splinter group with eight members in the lower house.

Analysts say the LDP's reduced majority in the post-election parliament and the new cabinet should not change Nakasone's policies. However, the strengthened opposition could force him to make concessions in such areas as the defence budget, which Nakasone has pledged to increase.

Nakasone's ability to stay in power a second term was in doubt after rival factions in the LDP blamed his poor handling of the Tanaka issue for the party's loss of seats. Nakasone rose to power 13 months ago with Tanaka's support, and awarded Tanaka followers with important party and cabinet posts.

Topsy-turvy weather for Yule holiday

LONDON (Reuters). — Americans had a white and bitterly cold Christmas while in Paris they were selling spring daffodils.

In Australia they flocked to the beaches, in London they bathed in Hyde Park and in Moscow skaters moaned about the lack of ice. West Germany, Belgium and Warsaw reported one of their warmest Christmases on record.

Traditionally snow-blanketed Vienna, Prague and Budapest were bathed in mild sunshine. But further south, Spanish skiers headed for the mountains of Segovia in some of the most topsy-turvy Christmas weather conditions on record.

Police in the U.S. reported about 150 deaths, mostly on the roads, since a cold spell started sweeping the country nine days ago.

With temperatures at minus 16

degrees centigrade, Washington had its coldest Christmas ever. The nation's low was in Mootana, where the town of Havre reported minus 39.4 Centigrade.

In traditional warm-weather states like Florida, citrus growers feared they would lose millions of dollars.

Japan reported 115cm. of snow in 24 hours on the west of its main island of Honshu, the heaviest fall since snow was recorded in 1953.

Strong westerly winds bringing warm damp air from the Baltic were blamed in Moscow for the unusually warm Christmas, the second in a row. Russian children, used to skating on flooded tennis courts, moped indoors.

In Paris, daffodils normally sold at Easter were on sale over

Christmas. The hot spot was Nice on the Mediterranean.

Weathermen described present conditions as more like early spring but added that there was plenty of snow in the Alps and the Pyrenees and predicted a New Year cold snap to please skiers.

The Christmas Day temperature in London was 12.7 Centigrade, just below a 1974 post-World War 2 high.

In Portugal, tourists enjoyed bright sunshine after six weeks of rainstorms and floods in which 11 people died.

In Sydney, Australians flocked to the beaches, abandoning traditional Christmas dinners as the temperature soared to 37.9 Centigrade, the hottest Yuletide holiday since 1957.

London police blame latest blast on IRA

LONDON (AP). — Police say a bomb blast here Sunday night that injured two persons is the work of the same IRA gang that killed six people in the December 17 Harrods bombing and is an attempt by the terrorists to scare shoppers away from this week's post-Christmas sales.

"The indications are that this is the continuation of the series of bombs we have had and I think this is a warning that the team placing the bombs is still there," said Scotland Yard Commander William

Huckleby, head of the anti-terrorist squad. He said the Christmas night bomb that exploded in a garbage can outside the Marks and Spencer department store on Orchard Street, 45 metres off Oxford Street, London's main shopping thoroughfare, was a clear threat from the bombers to shoppers.

As in previous years, tens of thousands of bargain-hunters were expected to flood into London's West End for the start of the annual sales

tomorrow in the big stores in the area following Britain's extended Christmas break. No group immediately claimed responsibility for the blast, which shattered windows in the area and injured two men, who were treated at a hospital for minor injuries. The IRA claimed responsibility for the car bomb attack outside Harrods that killed six persons and injured 94 as well as for the explosion at an army barracks at Woolwich in southeast London on December 10 that slightly injured four soldiers and a passerby.

Kreisky to discuss issues with Gaddafi

VIENNA. — Former chancellor Bruno Kreisky left yesterday on a visit to Libya for a meeting with Libyan leader Moammar Gaddafi, the national news agency APA reported.

Kreisky, who maintained contacts with Palestinian, Arab and Israeli leaders during his 13 years as chancellor, interrupted his Christmas vacation for the trip two days after Jordan's King Hussein arrived for his customary holiday vacation at his house here. But there was no indication he and

Kreisky had met. APA reported that Kreisky planned to discuss current issues of near Eastern politics with the Libyan leader.

The 72-year-old former chancellor sought during his period in office to play a mediating role in Middle East politics and in March, 1982 caused an uproar by receiving Gaddafi in Vienna.

Kreisky flew from Salzburg on the private jet of Austrian motor-racing star Niki Lauda.

Libya is one of Austria's main trading partners in Africa and a principal supplier of oil.

Kreisky has played a reduced role in Austrian politics since his Socialist Party lost its absolute parliamentary majority last April and he made way for his successor, Fred Sinowatz.

But he has continued to speak out on international affairs and recently blamed the U.S. for what he termed the political failure of PLO leader Yasser Arafat. (AP, Reuters)

Iraqi missile toll rises to 30 in Iranian town

BEIRUT (AP). — The death toll from an Iraqi ground-to-ground missile attack on the southern Iranian city of Masjid Soleiman has reached 30, the official Iranian news agency IRNA reported yesterday. Another 92 persons were injured.

IRNA added that rescue teams were still digging for more victims in the rubble of the nearly 300 houses and shops that were completely or partly destroyed in Sunday's attack.

Iraq has not reported the attack, although an Iraqi statement on Saturday warned that Iraqi forces would strike at selected targets deep inside Iran in retaliation for continued Iranian shelling of Iraqi border towns.

Masjid Soleiman is 160 km east of the Iraq-Iran border.

Earthquake kills 143 in Guinea

DAKAR (AP). — An earthquake Saturday night killed 143 people and injured at least 200 more in and around the town of Koubia in northwestern Guinea, according to a Radio Conakry report monitored here.

An earthquake Wednesday night in the same general area of the West African nation killed an estimated 300 people, with 200 missing and 150 seriously injured.

Radio Conakry, relaying an eyewitness report, said most of the houses in Koubia were destroyed, with only four or five still standing, though damaged. Five nearby villages were destroyed, the report said.

France plans to replace 3 diplomats expelled by Iran

PARIS (Reuters). — France yesterday said it intends replacing the three diplomats who have been served expulsion orders by the authorities in Teheran.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said France saw no link between the Iranian government's action and last week's French decision to close the Iranian Islamic Centre in Paris.

The Iranian authorities on Sunday gave the three French diplomats 24 hours to leave the country. The Iranian national news agency said they had been ordered to leave in reprisal for the expulsion of the Iranian officials.

France decided to close the Ira-

nian Islamic Centre after the Iranians last month closed the French Institute and the French Research Institute in Teheran.

Since July, Iran has also closed a French government commercial office, a language teaching school and an archeology institute.

In Teheran, meanwhile, the three expelled diplomats arrived from France yesterday protesting against their treatment by French authorities.

The national news agency IRNA reported one of the diplomats, first secretary Mohammad Ali Dasthi, as saying that French police had detained him and another diplomat and searched their briefcases in violation of diplomatic regulations.

Mao memorial opens on his 90th birthday

PEKING (AP). — As China focused Mao Tse-tung's place in history, the memorial hall built for the late chairman reopened on his 90th birthday anniversary yesterday. New exhibits also honoured three other Communist heroes and a gift shop sold Mao chopsticks.

Model workers and other invited guests lined up to buy badges, folding combs, thermometers, teabags and other inscribed mementoes from the souvenir shop, after touring the imposing square building in Tiananmen Square.

At the heart of the mausoleum, as before, lay Mao's body encased in a crystal sarcophagus and guarded by

four soldiers. The red Chinese flag covered all but his chest and head. Wispes of his gray hair were neatly combed and his head rested on a velvet cushion.

Mao died in 1976 at 83. Communist Party secretary-general Hu Yaobang's 3,000-word treatise on Mao, covering the top half of the *People's Daily*, termed the late chairman "China's greatest and most outstanding figure" in the past century. But he added: "Like many other great figures in past history, Comrade Mao Tse-tung also made mistakes. The serious mistakes he made in his later years put our party in a very difficult situation for a time."

Sports

Davis Cup Final: Australia 1 Sweden 1

Wilander and Fitzgerald emerge best out of the pressure conditions

MELBOURNE. — Six weeks of concentrated work on grass courts paid off for Sweden's Mats Wilander on the opening day of the Davis Cup tennis final against Australia at the Kooyong courts here yesterday. As the first day ended with the series level one match apiece, Wilander, who had expressed a dislike for grass prior to winning the Australian Open on the surface earlier this month, underlined his new confidence with a 6-3, 4-6, 9-7, 6-3 triumph over Pat Cash in the opening singles of the best-of-five final.

John Fitzgerald, picked despite his indifferent practice form, squared the match by beating Joakim Nyström 6-4 6-2 4-6 6-4.

In the battle of the teenagers Wilander indicated that his pedigree may be of genuine champion calibre for he demonstrated that he could win even when playing below his best.

After his win, the 19-year-old Swedish right hander said: "I think we are all better players on grass now." Wilander said he felt more pressure against Cash than in the Australian Open final when he dispatched Ivan Lendl.

"There is a lot more press Davis Cup," he said. "We play Grand Prix tournaments are more relaxed, but today I was playing for so many. That is another kind of pressure. Later, the 23-year-old Fitz also responded magnificently, pressing to keep the und Australian's hopes very much alive. Fitzgerald, whose victory world No. 54 Yannick Noe Australia past France in semifinals, showed the same fighting spirit as he sul Nystrom with a solid duple power tennis.

He felt the crowd was a major factor. "It is just the greatest feeling of all that many people yelling your name and for you," he said. "I think that was a little more emotional than any other I have ever played."

"I can still feel it now. I definitely can play better than that, but I get the best in game in these types of matches," he said. "I think that was a little more emotional than any other I have ever played."

The first day stalemate means that doubles will be a crucial test of nerve more experienced Paul McNamee and a moonshot taking on the younger but much Swedish pair of Anders Jarryd and Simonsson. In the reverse singles to Cash takes on Nystrom and then in match Fitzgerald will face Wilander.

ENGLISH SOCCER

Charlie Nicholas leads Arsenal's successful raid on Spurs' HQ

LONDON (Reuters). — Charlie Nicholas, who in recent games has been looking as forlorn as the little boy Santa Claus forgot, received the perfect Christmas present yesterday when he scored twice in Arsenal's 4-2 win over their London rivals Tottenham.

The Scottish goal ace transferred from Celtic in the summer, had not scored in the league since early in the season. But yesterday he conjured a marvellous double and created two other goals for Raphael Meade as he inspired Arsenal to their second English First Division football victory under caretaker Manager Don Howe. The result did not greatly improve Arsenal's league position but that will be of little concern to their fans who enjoy nothing better than winning on enemy territory at White Hart Lane

1984, edged further in front top with a 2-1 win at Bromwich despite a rather co cent performance. But Merseyside machine rolled Coventry, who had already cl the Liverpool scalp. Manchester United to a 1-1 both goals coming from pena Liverpool now have 40 from 19 games, three points cl United and five in front of who climbed above two London sides West Ham Queen's Park Rangers after wi 3-0 at Notts County.

DIVISION ONE: Birmingham 1 Forest 2; Coventry 1 Manchester 1 Everton 0 Sunderland 0; Ipswich 3 W Leicester 2 QPR 1; Notts 0, 0 Luton 3; Norwich 0; Tottenham 2 Arsenal 4; Aston Villa 2; West Brom 1 Liverpool 1; Ham 0 Southampton 1.

DIVISION TWO: Barnsley 2 Cana Cardiff 3 Swansea 2; Crystal Pal 0 Brigh Fulham 2; Derby 2; Grimsby 1 Sheffield 1; Leeds 1; Huddersfield 2; Manchester Oldham 0; Middlesbrough 0; Carlisle 1; N Blackburn 1; Portsmouth 4; Charl 1; Shrewsbury 2; Chester 4.

Pakistan build powerful position

MELBOURNE (AP). — Opening bat Mohsin Khan ignored a damaged finger to pilot Pakistan to a sound position on an exciting opening day of the fourth cricket Test against Australia here yesterday.

At stumps, Pakistan had scored 308 for the loss of five wickets with Mohsin trapped leg before by Dennis Lillee for a valiant 152 only six minutes before the close of play.

Mohsin had earlier been struck on the right hand by speedster Geoff Lawson but continued battling to register his third century on the tour. The main partnership was of 132 runs with Zaheer Abbas, the pair giving the Australian bowlers plenty to worry about until an incredible mixup left both batsmen at the same end and the umpires ruled Zaheer had been run out for 44.

"I take the blame for the run out,"

Mohsin said. "I thought he going for only one run but he turned I said 'No.' He didn't me and I didn't hear him say. After that I seemed to concentration."

Mohsin said Pakistan would need at to set up the chance of a win — which was the series with one match to play.

An onbeaten 48 by wicketkeeper Jeffery Dujon helped the Wes dies belabour their way to 20 five at the close of the second of the sixth and final Test with IN Madras.

Rain and stubborn South African bats dampened the rebel West Indies side's ch victory after the third day of play in a fi match against the Springboks in Durba two sides managed just two hours an minutes of play as the covers came on throughout the day. At the close, the Africans had scored their total from 69 wicket to 148 for two in reply to the W dians' massive 529 for seven declared (157, Kalliswaran 103).

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Danger Zones

Middle East

P.L.O. leader Yasser Arafat with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo last week.



Associated Press; The New York Times/Marisele Villanueva de Schumacher

Foreign Policy Emerging as A Bigger Domestic Problem

By HEDRICK SMITH

IN the 1980 Presidential campaign, Ronald Reagan posed a crucial question for the American electorate to use in sizing up the Carter Administration: "Are you better off than you were four years ago?" Some Democrats are saying that the central question their nominee should put in the 1984 debate is, "Do you feel more secure than you did four years ago?"

Already, there is a political debate over the power of diplomacy that Mr. Reagan has made a hallmark of his third year in office, historically a time of significant definition for most modern Presidents. In this telltale period, Richard Nixon embarked on the path of détente diplomacy and Jimmy Carter became ensnared in the fateful Iranian hostage crisis. This fall, Mr. Reagan has marked himself as the man who ordered the invasion of Grenada, risked American marines for a fragile Government in Lebanon, raised the military stakes in Central America and chanced a deep chill with Moscow over the downed Korean airliner and American missile deployment in Western Europe.

The Reagan entourage drew comfort from the surge of patriotic pride that followed the Grenada operation and now confidently asserts that Moscow, not Washington, bears the responsibility for the hiatus in Soviet-American arms talks. "The President's standing on international questions, not just Grenada, has a good bit of favor in this country," asserted Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana, who heads the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. "Even though specific aspects are problems for us, people like his general approach."

Nonetheless, Reagan strategists worry privately that the President will be dogged in the election year by what they term his "warmonger image." Indeed, early

this month, a Gallup poll indicated that 47 percent of the American public believed that Reagan defense policies had "brought the U.S. closer to war" while only 28 percent believed his approach had moved the nation "closer to peace." The New York Times/CBS news poll, Gallup and other polls indicated that foreign policy rivaled the economy as the nation's first political concern.

By next fall, the deepest public unease may arise from the impasse with Moscow over the nuclear arms race, unless that deadlock is broken. But this winter, more anxiety focuses on Lebanon, the one issue that Republican strategists privately say could blow up and lose Mr. Reagan the election. The Administration is braced for foreign policy clashes with Congress early next year over whether to cut short the Marine presence in Lebanon and whether to increase the levels of American aid to Central America.

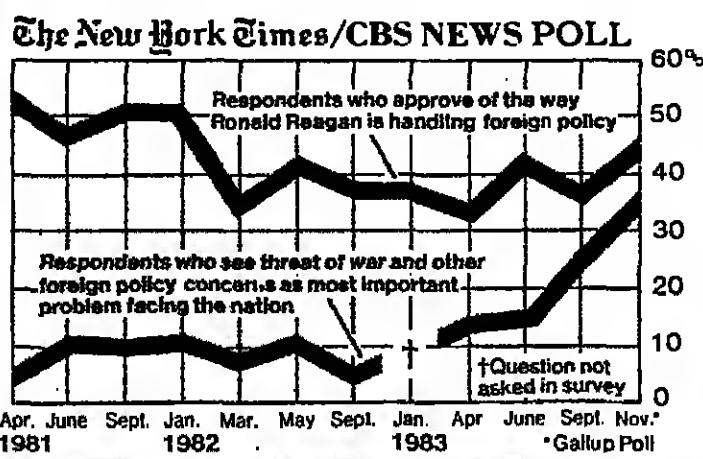
"The President has 60 days to do something on Lebanon," Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr. warned in a Miami news conference two weeks ago. Influential members of both parties report mounting impatience and frustration. Republican leaders have taken to placating the public with predictions that the marines will be home in 1984.

'Erosion of Support'

One harbinger of pressures to come was the Congressional report last week charging the military chain of command with lax security, inadequate intelligence and "very serious errors in judgment" before the Oct. 23 truck-bombing that took 241 American lives. Normally, political Washington treats the Joint Chiefs of Staff with some reverence, but the House Armed Services Investigations Subcommittee broke that tradition by accusing General Paul X. Kelley, the Marine Commandant, of giving "inaccurate, erroneous and misleading" testimony on the terrorist attack. In self-defense, the Marine Corps said it had provided "the best information available at

Worldly concerns

Public opinion on the importance of foreign affairs and Reagan's handling of them



the time." A Pentagon commission also found serious failures in the Marine chain of command although its report was withheld from the public until after Christmas.

"There's been a clear erosion of support since we voted on an 18-month period for the Marines in Lebanon," said Lee Hamilton, an influential Indiana Democrat whose support for President Reagan is now in doubt. "If you go any length of time with a political stalemate and casualties continuing, you'll see some legislative effort from Congress to shorten the 18 months." Already, Senator Charles McC. Mathias, a moderate Maryland Republican, has submitted a resolution calling for withdrawal by Feb. 25.

Congressional unease is fed by President Reagan's imprecision in defining the American role and refusal to set clear terms for American withdrawal. It is compounded by Washington's difficulty in getting Lebanese President Amin Gemayel to bring pro-Syrian Moslems into his Government and thus reduce factional warfare. Democrats and some Republicans fear that Mr. Reagan is trapped by too close a commitment to the Gemayel Government and by conditioning American withdrawal on seemingly impossible hopes for internal stability and departure of Syrian and Israeli forces. "The President is overlooking any outcome except the ideal solution," said Representative Les Aspin, a Wisconsin Democrat.

conveyed to Salvadoran leaders and Army commanders two weeks ago by Vice President Bush. One surprisingly quick dividend was the long overdue arrest of Capt. Eduardo Alfonso Avila, a politically well-connected Salvadoran Army officer implicated in the murder of two American labor organizers. If more moves follow, the Administration's hand with Congress will be strengthened. But the report from Mr. Kissinger of deterioration in both the military situation and economic conditions in El Salvador could undercut new aid proposals. "They're going to have quite a battle if they come in for additional money without progress on the ground militarily and politically," Mr. Hamilton warned.

The Administration cites preparations for the Salvadoran presidential election in March as a sign of progress. But officials see problems in the candidacy of Roberto d'Aubuisson, leader of the far-right National Republican Alliance, who was barred from entering this country last month and has been linked to the death squads. A former army major, Mr. d'Aubuisson will be running mainly against José Napoleón Duarte, a Christian Democrat, who is regarded more favorably by Washington. Whatever the outcome, the White House seems to feel it can weather criticism on Central American policy, barring some dramatic change, and that his main foreign policy worry for 1984 will be Lebanon.

Major News

In Summary

Arafat Departure Creates Hopes And Problems

Yasser Arafat and 4,000 loyal Palestinians left Lebanon last week, but terrorism and other violence remained. The chairman of the much divided Palestine Liberation Organization went first to Egypt, where, badly in need of Arab friends after being forced out of Tripoli, he embraced President Hosni Mubarak and so appeared to end the estrangement that began six years ago when Egypt made peace with Israel.

Mr. Arafat had a long way to go from his reconciliation with the Egyptians to following their example, but the United States welcomed his gesture and called the meeting "an encouraging development." The American reaction shocked the Israelis, who condemn Mr. Arafat as a terrorist. Disputing the view from Washington, Israel called Mr. Arafat's meeting with Mr. Mubarak "a severe blow to the peace process."

Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali said in Washington that the Palestinian leader's departure from Tripoli had opened up a new political approach to settling Middle East issues. More cautiously, Administration officials said that such hopes depended on "what shape the P.L.O. is in." The long-dormant Reagan peace initiative, opposed by both Syria and Israel, calls for Hussein

and the Palestinians to work out a deal with Israel for establishing a West Bank entity tied to Jordan.

Mr. Arafat was getting appeals for another kind of reconciliation. From Damascus, Khaled Fahum, head of the Palestine National Council, a parliamentary body, called for an emergency meeting of the warring factions because "two P.L.O.'s mean the end." But unity within the P.L.O. seemed unlikely. Palestinian rebels who ousted Mr. Arafat's forces from Tripoli condemned the Arafat-Mubarak meeting as forcefully as did the Israelis.

If Tripoli was at last quiet, Beirut was not. A bomb exploded in a crowded hotel bar; five minutes later a pickup truck filled with explosives blew up outside a command post of the French peacekeeping force. At least 19 people, including a French soldier, were killed and more than 40 were wounded in the two attacks. They were attributed to the same Shiite Moslem fundamentalists who destroyed Marine and French headquarters in October and facilities in Kuwait two weeks ago. The Syrians continued to fire on American reconnaissance planes, and American warships to hit back.

Attacks in Washington

While wary marines in Beirut hoped that 750 pounds of turkey and 3,000 pints of eggnog were all they would have to handle at Christmas, their commanders came under fire in Washington last week for insufficient precautions against the truck-

bomb attack that killed 241 men in October and for "erroneous" information about it afterward.

The Investigations subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee disputed important points of the testimony given last month by Gen. Paul X. Kelley, the Marine Commandant, faulted the judgment of Col. Timothy J. Geraghty, commander of the contingent at the time of the attack, and deplored the way intelligence was processed. A five-man Defense Department commission headed by retired Adm. Robert L.J. Long was also critical, according to Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, who said steps had been taken to improve security. Release of the report was delayed.

The Congressional investigation led House members to conclude that the truck had been traveling much more slowly than 50 to 60 miles an hour — the speed General Kelley estimated in explaining why the marines had no time to shoot the driver. The sewer pipe that General Kelley said had been placed in front of the building turned out to be two pipes so widely spaced that the truck was able to pass easily, the panel said.

Colonel Geraghty's "misjudgment" appeared to lie in the idea that building substantial defense against terrorism would interfere with the Marines' "diplomatic" mission.

Mr. Weinberger said "there isn't any way in which you can absolutely guarantee the safety of anyone there." This perhaps accounted for the lack of success that he reported in recruiting other countries to join the 1,200 marines, 2,100 Italians, 2,000 French and 800 British in the multinational force. Some 15 countries have declined, the Secretary said. Last week, Italian President Sandro Pertini indicated his country's disenchantment by calling for withdrawal of its contingent.

A Comeuppance For Nakasone

Japanese voters last week confirmed the worst fears of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and the Reagan Administration. His Liberal Democratic Party suffered one of its biggest losses of seats in the House of

Representatives since it began ruling in 1955 and will need the help of nine independent conservatives to form a majority.

A low turnout, reaction against corruption in government, minute voter shifts in several districts and the normal wear and tear of long-held power all helped to account for the Liberal Democrats' losses. The divided opposition parties made few gains. But the overall result was an uncertain future for Mr. Nakasone and for policies that had Washington's backing. Assuming he remains as party leader and Prime Minister, he may have to move more slowly than the Administration would like on a defense buildup and on opening home markets to American goods.

The corruption issue was personified by former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, who was convicted of taking bribes from the Lockheed Corporation but refused to resign his seat in Parliament, where he controls a sizable block of votes. While his continued prominence in the party may have been a liability elsewhere, Mr. Tanaka and his pork-barrel style won handily, as usual, in his own grateful district. The House is expected to select a Prime Minister this week and Mr. Nakasone is likely to be renamed. Not only will he have problems governing, but he will have to face challenges within his party as he approaches the end of his term as leader next November.

A Happy Face On the Economy

From the latest reports on the present condition of the economy to the official White House's forecast for the future, everything was coming up rosy last week — through the Administration's filter, at least.

The estimate of a moderate 4.5 percent increase in the gross national product for the last three months of the year and a rise in consumer prices of only three-tenths of 1 percent in November "lead us to now hope we are on a sustainable, noninflationary growth path," said Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan. The White House forecast, for growth around 4 percent through 1989, with the rates of inflation and unemployment falling by 1989 to 3.5 percent and 5.7 percent respectively, is "prudent" and "in line with history," said Martin S. Feldstein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Some other economists were less sure. Their first question was whether the preliminary G.N.P. report would not prove greatly understated. "It's much too low; it's not taking into account what's going on in retail sales," said Jerry Jasinowski, chief economist for the National Association of Manufacturers. Their second question was the effect of a faster growth report on the inflation fears of the Federal Reserve. It has been tamping down the money supply since the summer precisely because an overheated recovery might reignite inflation; too tight a tamp, economists say, could choke recovery off entirely.

That is also an Administration worry. "I'm not going to suggest a policy to the Fed," said Secretary Regan, who in the past has been free with his advice. The week's economic reports, he added, suggest that the Fed need not lean so tautly "against an inflationary wind." There was not a breath of such concern in the White House forecast, which will be the basis of President Reagan's forthcoming budget. Interest rates fall even faster than inflation, to 5 percent by 1989. A Roundtable: Republican Senators weigh deficit options, page 5.)

Argentina's new President isn't pulling 2 any punches

The World

The Campaign Season Opens In El Salvador

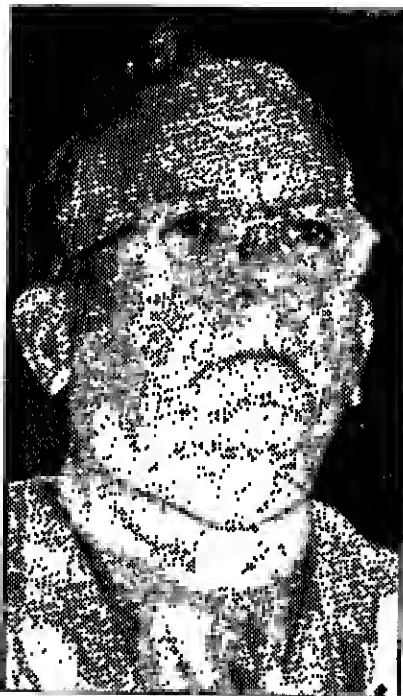
Roberto d'Aubuisson last week opened his campaign for President of El Salvador by attacking his critics in the United States Embassy and the North American press. Americans who criticize Salvadoran military officers, he contended, are weakening the armed forces.

Mr. d'Aubuisson, who is President of the Constituent Assembly and heads the National Republican Alliance, was denied a United States visa late last month because his activities were considered likely to be "contrary to the public interest." He has been linked with right-wing death squads.

President Reagan, in his news conference last week, repeated United States insistence on suppressing the death squads. He said Vice President Bush had been representing him when Mr. Bush criticized rightist violence in San Salvador. Last week, Mr. d'Aubuisson joined the chorus for the first time, classing the death squads with leftist guerrillas as enemies of democracy.

Mr. d'Aubuisson's main opponent in the March 25 election is likely to be former President José Napoleón Duarte, whose Christian Democrats won 40 percent of the vote in last year's Constituent Assembly election while d'Aubuisson supporters got 29 percent.

The United States supported Mr. Duarte during his presidency, but lately the American Embassy has been hinting that its favorite candidate is Francisco José Guerrero of the National Conciliation Party, an aide to President Alvaro Magaña.



Bishop Salvador Schläefter

American diplomats believe he is a conservative who could appeal both to businessmen and the military. Two other conservative parties also nominated candidates. Francisco Quirón, a businessman who headed the country's Peace Commission, was named by the Salvadoran Popular Party. Col. Roberto Escobar García, a retired army officer, is the nominee of the Salvadoran Institutional Party.

President Reagan also reiterated his support for special envoy Richard B. Stone's mediating role in Central America. Mr. Stone will return to Nicaragua next month to promote talks between the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan rebels. Managua has been making conciliatory offers but White House officials said the Sandinistas could do "a great deal more."

The Miskito Indians evidently agreed. Several hundred more of them took refuge in Honduras last week. According to reports reaching the State Department Friday, Roman Catholic Bishop Salvador Schläefter, who was born in Campbellsport, Wis., safely crossed the border with the Indians. Nicaraguan officials had accused the rebels of abducting Bishop Schläefter.

The East Feels The Heat, Too

Life under the nuclear umbrella has always been nerve-racking for Europeans, East and West. This month's suspension of negotiations at Geneva and deployment of new nuclear missiles in NATO and Warsaw Pact countries have only added to the tension.

In Western Europe, objections to the missiles have been expressed by the Greek Government, the Danish Parliament and by demonstrators, notably in West Germany and Britain. Last week, State Department officials spotted a rift in the reactions of Eastern European Governments.

They said Rumania had underlined its irritation with Soviet nuclear policy by boycotting a strategy planning meeting of Communist parties in Moscow this month. Missing so important a meeting, an expert

said, was "unprecedented" for a Warsaw Pact member.

Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, a longtime maverick inside the pact, has called on the Soviet Union to begin dismantling its new SS-20 missiles. He has also asked the United States not to deploy its medium-range cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe.

The Russians announced they were deploying new missiles in Czechoslovakia and East Germany after the new American missiles began arriving. "No cause for celebration," Erich Honecker, the East German leader, said. "No one jumped for joy." Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal of Czechoslovakia reportedly commented last month.

Bulgaria's President Todor Zhivkov, hoping to keep Soviet missiles away from his country, has joined with Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu in promoting a nuclear-free zone for the Balkans.

Bulgarian and Hungarian officials have privately told Americans that the illness of Soviet leader Yuri V. Andropov is contributing to tensions in the region. Mr. Andropov may make his first appearance this week since he greeted visiting American senators in August; he would normally attend the scheduled meeting of the Soviet Parliament.

Withdrawal From Unesco Urged

The United States is the biggest contributor to the United Nations and its specialized bodies but many Americans think it is not getting its money's worth. The frustration led the State Department last week to make its boldest recommendation yet — withdrawal from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Paris.

President Reagan was urged to notify Unesco that the United States would withdraw in 1985 unless it curtailed what the Administration sees as questionable political activities that have an anti-Western flavor. These include an attempt, backed by third world nations and the Soviet bloc, to set world press standards that could limit the activity of Western correspondents and news agencies. Since withdrawal requires a year's notice, Mr. Reagan has to decide on the action by the end of this week if the 1985 date is to be respected. During the intervening year, according to official calculations, the United States would have some leverage to effect changes.

The biggest leverage is Washington's 25 percent share of the Unesco budget, which in 1984 will amount to \$374.4 million. Complaining of a bloated bureaucracy, the United States cast the only vote against the budget last month. Literacy drives, technical assistance to drought-stricken countries, help for the blind are some of the programs that would be affected. But Administration officials argued that funds for such purposes could be distributed through other channels.

South African Offer Rejected

South Africa says it is ready to pull its forces back from Angola but its neighbors object to the conditions.

Although Washington welcomed Pretoria's offer, reaction last week at the United Nations was largely negative. The United States abstained as the Security Council voted, 14 to 0, for a resolution telling South African troops to go home.

On the eve of the Security Council debate, South African Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha offered "to begin a disengagement of the forces" in Angola, where they have been fighting guerrillas of the South-West Africa Peoples Organization, known as Swapo. The pullback was to start Jan. 31 and last for a month.

Mr. Botha said in a letter to the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, that the truce would be extended if the Angolan Government "would assure that its own forces, Swapo, and the Cubans would not exploit the resulting situation."

With support from the Reagan Administration, South Africa has refused to allow independence for South-West Africa, or Namibia, until it receives assurances that the 25,000 Cuban troops in Angola will be withdrawn. But Angola says Namibia must become independent first, then the Cuban forces would leave.

Both Angola and the guerrillas rejected the new South African pullback offer, presumably because the South African troops would remain in Namibia while the guerrillas would be neutralized.

Angola radio reported "fierce fighting" under way between South African and Angolan troops. A defense spokesman in Pretoria said South African troops in southern Angola were engaged only in "hot pursuit" operations against the guerrillas.

Milt Freudenheim
and Henry Ginzberg

Congress Canceled Amnesty for the Military Last Week

Argentine President Comes On Strong

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER

BUENOS AIRES — Argentine soccer fans chant "dale duro," or "give it to them hard." In his first 15 days as President, that is just what Raúl Alfonsín has been doing. He has challenged the country's most powerful and recalcitrant institutions, the military and organized labor, in a bold attempt to break a 30-year cycle of union thuggery and military coups.

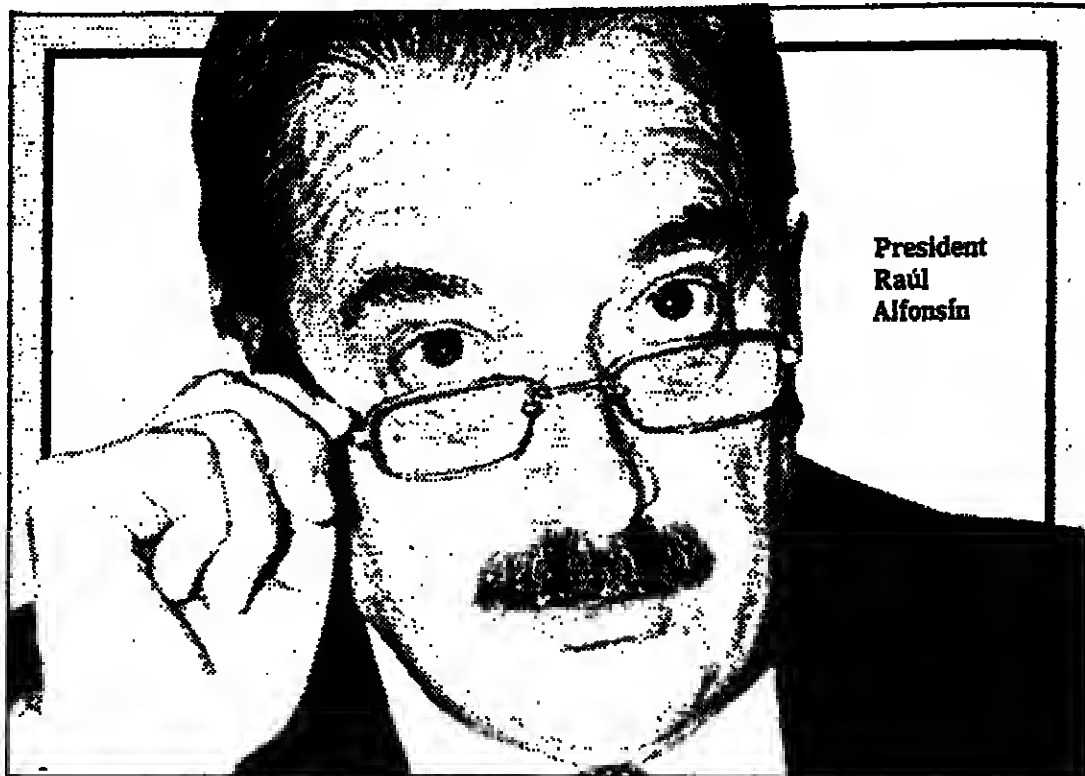
Mr. Alfonsín moved first against the military, forcing senior officers to retire and ordering the prosecution of nine former junta members. He established a panel to investigate the disappearance of more than 6,000 Argentines during the military's antiterrorist campaign. Joining in, the new Congress voted to revoke the amnesty that the last junta had decreed for the military. And a court indicted former President Reynaldo Bignone on charges connected with the disappearance of two Communist draftees who served under him in 1976, when he was commander of the Military College. Mr. Alfonsín turned next to the unions, asking Congress to require court-monitored elections of officers to curtail the power of old-line Peronist union leaders.

The President's swift pace has thrown opponents off balance and his aides say he is confident they will not recover. In the short term, he may be right. In this politically and economically tumultuous country, however, the honeymoon could end after a few short months.

The military, after its failures during eight years in power, is believed unlikely to fight back for several years. The retired brass retains little influence and Mr. Alfonsín's plans to professionalize the armed forces appeal to many younger officers. As insurance, Mr. Alfonsín has put civilians in charge, with himself as Commander in Chief. He showed he meant business after two former military Presidents, Jorge Rafael Videla and Eduardo Viola, showed up as invited guests at a military ceremony. Two senior officers who were responsible for the invitations were sentenced to three days and 20 days in jail.

The unions may be less pliant. They are integrated with the opposition Peronist Party, and their ability to mobilize crowds was instrumental in forcing the junta to step down. Last week, one of the two main labor confederations declared a "state of alert" and Peronist supporters in Congress vowed to fight the President's proposals. But by week's end, the unions appeared to be showing more bark than bite.

Mr. Alfonsín has attacked only the old union leaders, leaving deeper reforms for later. Many of the old leaders are resented by rank-and-file members who blame them for the Peronist de-



President Raúl Alfonsín

Sygma/Carlos Corrao

feat. Mr. Alfonsín received unexpected support from former President Isabel Martínez de Perón, the party's nominal leader. Returning from exile, she lauded Mr. Alfonsín. She accused her party leaders of having lost touch with Peronist roots and said she would take command. The party's acting president, Lorenzo Miguel, also heads the metalworkers, one of the most militant unions. Perhaps reflecting their leader's uncertain prospects, the metalworkers have postponed a threatened strike.

Taking advantage of rank and file disaffection, Labor Minister Antonio Mucci, a popular former union leader, accused the critics of "working against democracy, against the workers and against the country." Peronists are expected to put up a fight in Congress. But Mr. Alfonsín's middle-class Radical Party controls the lower house; by joining with several small provincial parties, it could control the Senate, too. The Radicals hope to pass the union bill within weeks.

Starting off fast is the President's style, his aides say, it also seems politically shrewd. Much of what he is doing fulfills campaign pledges. After handing the Peronists their first defeat in what all agree was an honest election, his mandate is solid. His festive inauguration, attended by

an impressive number of heads of state, may have pushed his popularity even higher. Mr. Alfonsín, a fiery orator, has become identified with the aspirations of most Argentines, who hope he will pull the country out of its 30-year morass and make it a modern democracy. Even the weather is helping. Summer is starting, the season when strikes and politics usually take a recess, leaving the field largely to the President. He may never be more powerful than now.

His greatest obstacle may be the country's historical habits. In 53 years only one freely elected Government has finished out its term. That record reflects the country's notorious impatience with its leaders. Euphoria is so high now that even Mr. Alfonsín's aides fear the consequences if expectations cannot be met speedily.

The main issue is the economy. Economy Minister Bernardo Grinspun has tackled the \$40 billion foreign debt, asking international banks to put off all negotiations and most payments until June. But inflation has been running at more than 600 percent; curbing it cannot be put off. Many workers are already complaining that the \$38 monthly wage increase decreed by Mr. Alfonsín for December is too small. As one labor leader said, "you cannot eat democracy."

Despite Hassad's Illness, Damascus Progresses Toward Key Goals

Syria's Power Is Negative, Undeniable



Syrians with banner portraits of President Hafez al-Assad demonstrating in Damascus this month to protest U.S.-Israeli military cooperation.

By JUDITH MILLER

DAMASCUS, Syria — When the Syrian, Saudi and Lebanese Foreign Ministers met here last week to prepare for a resumption of the Lebanese reconciliation talks, it was Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam who drove his colleagues to lunch. Protocol reflected power. Syria seems very much where it has long sought to be — in the driver's seat.

President Hafez al-Assad is recovering from a month-long illness, believed here to have been a heart attack, but still described by officials as exhausted. Syria has survived the absence of its omnipotent leader without a serious challenge to internal stability or its foreign policy objectives.

Syrian officials say they are on the verge of achieving several key goals, though they acknowledge that in the process, the risk of igniting a clash between the United States and the Soviet Union has grown.

By supporting Lebanese religious and political factions opposed to President Amin Gemayel, Syria has secured a major voice in efforts to restructure the Lebanese Government. Damascus has also lined up the factions against the American-sponsored Israeli-Lebanese withdrawal agreement of May 17, which Syria rejected almost immediately as a threat to its security and Lebanon's sovereignty. The Syrians assert the agreement is effectively dead.

The Syrians see the United States, which the Government-controlled press attacks daily as Israel's protector and lackey, as bogged down in Lebanon. Bomb shelter signs went up in hotels in Damascus after the Battleship New Jersey fired its 16-inch guns at Syrian positions in Lebanon. But the shelling remained confined to Lebanon. While Syrian batteries continue to fire at Ameri-

can reconnaissance planes, the American shelling has brought sympathy for Syria among Arab states that normally loathe Damascus.

Syrian officials say the Reagan Administration cannot maintain its military pressure against Syria because an election is coming and Congress is clamoring for an end to the American presence in Lebanon. Syrian foreign policy, on the other hand, is not encumbered by elections or the need to respond to public pressure.

On its Arab front, Syrian support for Iran in its almost four-year-old war with Iraq has stymied efforts by Saudi Arabia to convene an Arab summit, temporarily deterring the Arab's quasi-annual, elusive search for unity.

Each Syrian concession to Arab unity — be it a cease-fire in Lebanon or an informal agreement not to reopen the oil pipeline that links Iraq through Syria to the sea — is bought and paid for by Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, diplomats say.

Accusing Damascus

The Saudis are forced to use the carrot because Syria holds the stick. Washington and some of its Arab allies accuse Syria of a hand in the terrorist attacks throughout the region, including the suicide bombing in October of the American marine headquarters in Beirut, in which 241 Americans died. Syria denies these allegations.

At least part of the Palestinian movement is now beholden to Damascus. Palestinian dissidents have been based here since their rebellion began in May. By supporting dissidents within Al Fatah, the Palestine Liberation Organization's major faction, Syria has gained considerable control of the movement.

Everything appeared to go according to Syrian plans until last week when P.L.O. chairman Yasir Arafat met with President Hosni Mubarak

of Egypt. The meeting prompted a spate of invective in Damascus almost as vitriolic as that from Israel. The vehemence of the outcry suggests that Mr. Arafat has once again not only survived for now, but has posed a serious threat to Syrian objectives, which are strongly at odds with Egypt's policy, as initiated by Anwar Sadat, of settling Middle East issues by peaceful negotiation instead of by war.

A senior official reiterated Syria's long-standing view of how to deal with Israel as follows: Israel understands only force; Israel made peace to neutralize Egypt, the major Arab military power; this left Israel free to pursue other operations, such as its 1982 invasion of Lebanon, with little fear of reprisal.

Only when the balance of power in the region has changed will Israel be forced to negotiate the return of the Arab territories in good faith, the official asserted. The Soviet advisors — estimated by Western sources at 5,000 to 6,000 — are useful in this respect.

In meeting with President Mubarak, Mr. Arafat appeared to be casting his lot with Egypt's approach. But long-time observers of Palestinian politics doubt that Mr. Arafat is daring enough to attempt to bring the P.L.O. to the negotiating table next to Mr. Mubarak or King Hussein of Jordan, as the Reagan peace initiative calls for.

If he did, one Western diplomat said, it could dramatically change the dynamics of the conflict here. This diplomat thinks Syria would make a deal in a minute if it thought the United States could be trusted.

Others disagree. What Syria wants is straightforward, they say; influence in Lebanon, control of the P.L.O., victories in political confrontations with Israel, Soviet presence for leverage, but not Soviet dictates.

European Steel, U.S. Grain Are Among the Particulars in a Worsening of Relations

A Brisk Trade in Transoceanic Accusations

By CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH

WASHINGTON — Economic resentment on both sides is straining relations between the United States and Western Europe, threatening collisions not seen since the 1930's. "The relationship is at its postwar low," said Harold B. Malmgren, a United States trade negotiator in the Nixon Administration. "The climate is marked by decreasing confidence in the judgment of each side by the other and is now being compounded by the horrible outlook for employment in Europe."

The bitterness was apparent at a meeting of top officials in Brussels early this month. Secretary of State George P. Shultz waved a banana at Sir Roy Denman, the Common Market's Ambassador to Washington, after Sir Roy suggested that American trade policies could "condemn half the world to a diet of bananas."

At first, Mr. Shultz's gesture was taken as a joke, but "the smiles quickly froze," an American witness said, when he emphatically rejected Sir Roy's arguments and went on to hit at Common Market subsidies for agriculture and steel exports, European protectionism for automobiles and other behavior that angers Washington.

Some Europeans have questioned Washington's competence in dealing with world trade issues. They point to high interest rates everywhere, which they say have been inflated by American deficit spending. While President Reagan preaches free trade, their argument continues, he has restrained imports of autos, steel, motorcycles, textiles and other products in a pattern of protection for domestic industry unmatched in decades.

Forecasts Don't Match

American officials retort that it is the Europeans who have made economic mistakes by failing to match the United States in curbing wages and prices, although Europe has suffered even greater unemployment. "Forty percent of American workers have had their pay frozen or actually taken pay cuts," Bill Brock, the United States trade negotiator, said last week. "There's been nothing like this in recent history. Europeans, on the other hand, have made no such adjustments. They're just going their merry way." The United States won't pay for Europe's mistakes, American officials warn.

The gap was underscored last week in the semiannual forecast of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris. It predicted a strong 5 percent growth rate for the United States next year but only 1.5 percent growth for the West Europeans. That presages small relief from high European unemployment — 17 percent in Belgium, over 11 percent in Britain, about 10 percent in Italy and above 8 percent in West Germany and France.

The Administration predicts the American rate will fall below 8 percent next year.

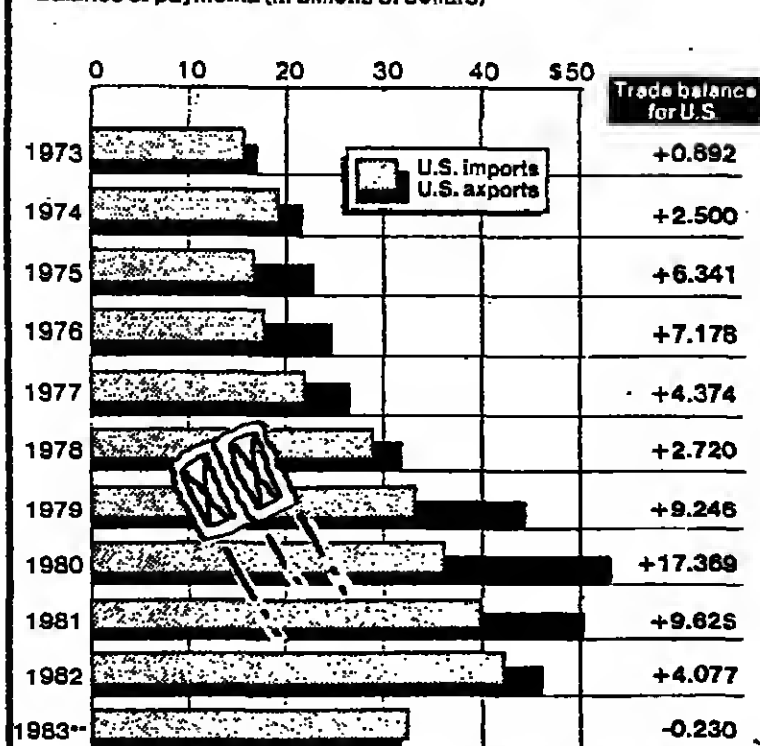
Trying to halt the deterioration in relations, Mr. Brock has invited his opposite number in the Common Market, Wilhelm Haferkamp, a former West German trade unionist, to Sarasota, Fla., next month. Away from the pressures of Washington and Brussels, they will seek ways to bridge the gaps.

"It will be a miracle if we get through 1984 without a flareup," an American official said. "What we've got to address are ways to limit the damage."

The amounts at peril are large: The United States and Western Europe exchange \$60 billion worth of goods

U.S. - Common Market trade *

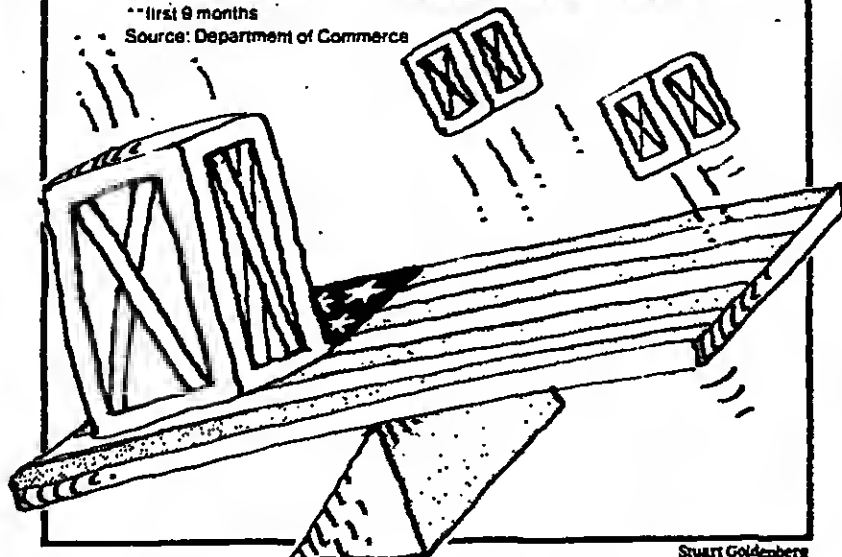
Balance of payments (in billions of dollars)



*excludes trade with Greece, which joined the Common Market in 1981

**first 9 months

Source: Department of Commerce



Stuart Goldenberg

and services, about 5 percent of total world trade. Disputes are simmering over exports to Europe of American soybeans and corn gluten used for animal feed, and over sales of European specialty steel in the United States.

Each side wants to restrict access to its markets. Each is warning that if the other acts, it will react. Secre-

tary of Agriculture John R. Block pointedly reminded the Senate Finance Committee this month that the \$685 million earned in Europe last year by American corn gluten was just about equal to the total of European wine, beer and ale sales in the United States. American soybean exports to Europe — totaling \$4 billion — were even more important.

Senator Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said bluntly, "If we are going to be pushed around this way, we have got to make certain they know it will be reciprocated." His state, Illinois, produces a lot of corn gluten and soybeans.

For their part, the Europeans complain that the United States has already acted to curb imports of specialty steel, an item so expensive it is sold by the pound. The Common Market's Council of Ministers is threatening to retaliate next month. Technically, their action would be called compensation; international rules permit countries to hit back if they can show they have been damaged by protectionist measures. There is talk of raising European tariffs on American chemicals.

"If they do something like that, there could be a political reaction here that would force us to do something in return, and who knows where it might end," an Administration official warned.

On another front, the British and other Europeans have assailed the supranational reach of American law and trade regulations. In pursuit of international and other policy objectives, the United States has repeatedly imposed its will on foreign companies. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who views the issue as an infringement of British sovereignty, has taken it up repeatedly with President Reagan.

During last year's controversy over selling equipment and technology to the Russians for the Siberian pipeline, the United States invoked sanctions against British and other European companies. Now it is asking other multinational companies to accept the "unitary" taxation laws of 13 American states. The states want to tax the companies' earnings overseas. Another irritation is a fraud case that involves a United States court subpoena of records of a Canadian bank's branch in the Cayman Islands, which are under British jurisdiction. Some British officials have complained that the extension of United States laws in this fashion amounts to "a new imperialism in America."

Sovereign Interests Clash

Environment Is Keeping Canada and U.S. at Odds

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

OTTAWA — Manitoba's concern over what is happening across the border has receded a bit after a recent meeting in Ottawa of Canadian and United States officials. The two sides agreed to name a joint committee of experts. They will review a long-proposed land reclamation and irrigation project for which ground has been broken in North Dakota.

The project for the diversion of the Garrison River has passionate adherents in North Dakota and equally passionate opponents in Canada. It is but one of several dozen environmental issues that straddle the remarkably open and porous frontier between the United States and Canada that stretches 3,937 miles from New Brunswick to Vancouver, plus the 1,538 miles separating Alaska from the Yukon and Northwest Territories. It is the longest unfortified border in the world. Enormous amounts of people, ideas, goods, money, lands, energy, water, animals and pollution shuttle back and forth with little bureaucratic interference. But precisely because the two countries and cultures are so integrated, events on one side of the border are likely to set off ripples or shock waves on the other. As in the case of the Manitoba-North Dakota controversy, the debate over acid rain or the unsuccessful attempts to obtain fishing treaties covering Atlantic and Pacific species, these issues often require arduous and time-consuming adjustments of clashing sovereign interests.

In many ways the Manitoba issue is typical of the environmental conflicts. The Canadian province is con-



Canadians protesting against acid rain in Ottawa.

vinced that the North Dakota project would create ecological disaster in its rivers and lakes. The Garrison Focus office in the provincial capital in Winnipeg presents evidence from naturalists that once the North Dakota project started working, waters that drain northward through Canadian lakes and rivers into Hudson Bay would be mingled with those that flow through the Missouri and Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico. The two river systems have evolved separately and have distinct aquatic life. Once mixed in the projected Garrison canals, the Canadian studies show, the aggressive and commercially less useful fish from the American streams, such as rainbow smelt and gizzard shad, would quickly overrun and eliminate the less aggressive but more commercially valuable Canadian species like whitefish, walleye and sauger.

For many in North Dakota, the Garrison project represents the fulfillment of a solemn promise made during the Roosevelt Administration. The state was told that in exchange for flooding vast tracts of agricultural land in North Dakota to aid flood control in states downriver, new arable lands would be created by the Garrison scheme. As for the Canadian anxieties, advocates of the plan say that measures will be taken to ensure that the two river systems will not be mixed. "And what if those precautions don't work?" the worried Canadians reply.

Another area of concern is the toxic waste problem on the Niagara River, where seepage from industrial waste dumps forced the evacuation of residents on Love Canal. Earlier this year, the Canadian Ministry of Environment gave approval to steps taken by the United States to clean up the mess along the Niagara frontier. But the Canadians continued to monitor the situation because they were dismayed at the prospect that a 50 percent cut in funds for the Environmental Protection Agency would slow the cleansing of the Great Lakes. They were somewhat mollified in October when the United States agreed to further clean the lakes of phosphorous pollutants.

Collapsed fishing treaties on both coasts have also caused worry. This summer a two-year effort to regulate and apportion the Pacific salmon catches suddenly foundered when the newly elected Alaskan Governor, Bill Sheffield, opposed new curbs on Alaskan fishing. The action recalled the failure by the Senate in 1979 to ratify a fishing agreement in the Gulf of Maine that had been negotiated and backed by the Carter Administration.

Most of these environmental problems generate regional skirmishes. Acid rain is a wider issue. In Canada it has been the single most contentious difference with the United States. It has brought together all of the eastern provinces and galvanized support in the west. The Canadian Government and Canadian environmental groups believe that Washington has been footdragging while Canadian lakes are dying.

They had hoped that with the appointment of William D. Ruckelshaus as administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, the United States would move more quickly to produce a timetable for dealing with airborne industrial wastes that are acidifying the waters of Canadian and American lakes. With Mr. Ruckelshaus reporting heavy opposition to an acid rain program, Canadians have the feeling that once again a problem affecting them is being ensnared in American politics.

This points up the dilemma of two nations that are closely but not fully integrated. The pollution that originates to a large extent in the smokestacks of Ohio affects Ontario and Quebec where most Canadians live. All Canadian diplomats can do is to urge the United States to legislate requirements for expensive scrubbers on the smokestacks or for the use of expensive low-sulfur fuel. Unlike Ohio, Ontario and Quebec have no Senators or Representatives in Washington.

Hungarians and Poles Deal Differently With 'the Reality'

Playing Ball, and Hardball, With Moscow



Workers at a cooperative farm near Budapest.

By JOHN KIFNER

BUDAPEST — "We used to watch our Polish brothers with envy as they said what was really on their minds," a Hungarian intellectual said, reflecting on the heyday of Solidarity as he relaxed in the research institute where he advises his Government. Then he added softly, "But perhaps we were right after all." Hungary and Poland are at the opposite extremes of the way Eastern Europeans have dealt with "the reality" — a local euphemism for the overriding fact of Soviet hegemony.

After Russian tanks crushed their popular uprising in 1956, many Hungarians decided that open defiance was futile. Under the pragmatic leadership of Janos Kadar, Hungary developed the highest standard of living in the Soviet bloc, quietly substituting free enterprise for Marxist orthodoxy while outwardly preserving fealty to Moscow. Pressed by hard times and historical, almost visceral dislike of Russia, Poland experienced cyclical outbursts in 1956, 1970, 1976 and 1980. For Hungarians, 1956 was the sole watershed. "Those of us who remained here after '56," a middle-aged woman said, "understood that we had to live with the reality."

"The Poles are the poets of Eastern Europe," a Western diplomat observed. "The Hungarians are the mathematicians." The Poles are still struggling. Riot police saturated the cities to prevent demonstrations on Dec. 16, the anniversary of the shooting of scores of workers in 1970 and the shooting of miners in 1981. But as Zbigniew Bujak, the underground Solidarity leader, noted last week, repression has not prevented widespread, if often tacit, noncooperation with the authorities.

Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, has said

he would like to learn from the Hungarians. But important differences make it unlikely Poland could evolve along Hungarian lines. The economic obstacle is brutally simple. Hungary laid the base for its progress in the booming 1960's. In today's recession, Poland, with \$28 billion of debts to the West and its import-dependent economy falling apart, has little chance for improvement.

Perhaps most important, Mr. Kadar has struck a kind of consensus in which he holds popular support by providing better living conditions. The Russians tolerate him because the Hungarians are quiet, no mean achievement in Eastern Europe where things must be justified by party rules. "Kadar," said an experienced Western diplomat, "had to prove himself to Khrushchev, then march on with Brezhnev, establishing himself as the indispensable Hungarian, while at the same time amassing a cadre of very bright, Western-oriented economists. His most difficult baggage is pretending this is socialism."

Mr. Kadar's popularity, such as it is, did not come easily. In the late 1950's, hundreds of thousands of Hungarians fled and thousands of others were jailed or shot. "Jaruzelski would look angelic alongside the Hungary of that period," the diplomat said. "Who is not against us is with us." Mr. Kadar said later, establishing a kind of amnesty. Recently, however, the Hungarian authorities have been harassing outspoken opponents. Last week, Gabor Demszky, the publisher of an unauthorized magazine, went on trial on charges of assaulting police officers. He said they, in fact, had beaten him unconscious. In Poland, many intellectuals have dropped out, going into "internal exile." A Jesuit magazine recently published a discussion, led by a former leading Polish journalist turned taxi driver, on the duty of intellectuals — evidently to refuse to cooperate with the Government.

The message was obscured by heavy censorship.

Mr. Kadar seems to be securely in power and thus able to permit changes. General Jaruzelski has amassed sweeping powers. But he does not fully control the Communist Party apparatus and has bypassed it, instead keeping his officers in key Government posts.

Agriculture has been the backbone of Hungary's economic progress, and here the differences with Poland are overwhelming. Money for machines, seeds and fertilizer was pumped into the countryside in the 1960's, making cooperative farming attractive. A system of shared lands and intensive private farming produced high yields; light industry spinoffs are run by cooperatives. In Poland, the Government has long favored inefficient state farms, while peasants struggling on small, privately owned plots produced much of the country's food.

Another crucial difference in the two Roman Catholic countries is the role of the church. In Hungary, the church had been seen as an arm of the overbearing Hapsburg Empire. But in Poland, during years of partition and occupation, the church was the repository of nationalism. Since it was outlawed, the dissident spirit of Solidarity has sought refuge in the church. The connection was underlined anew this month when Solidarity founder Lech Walesa placed his Nobel Peace medal on the altar of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa. "Everything I do, I do for you or through you," Mr. Walesa prayed, addressing Poland's holiest icon. "Direct me so I can accomplish your service and multiply your glory."

"This is right in the spirit of the nation," said the Rev. Josef Platek, general of the Pauline monks who guard the icon. "Polish Kings have laid their crowns, famous Polish writers their pens, soldiers their medals on this altar."

The Nation

Jackson Keeps The Democrats Under Pressure

Charles T. Manatt, the chairman of the Democratic Party, made further efforts last week to contain the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson's challenge to party rules. Almost immediately, there were signs that his conciliatory gesture might prove insufficient.

After a two-hour conference with Mr. Jackson on his protest against the way the party selects its convention delegates, Mr. Manatt agreed to allow him a hearing in January, before the Democratic Executive Committee. Mr. Jackson used a joint news conference, during which Mr. Manatt did his best to maintain an atmosphere of cordiality, to renew his charges that the delegate-selection rules discriminate against minority groups, rank-and-file Democrats and long-shot candidates.

Mr. Jackson, the only black running for the Democratic Presidential nomination, has been pressing the rules challenge for months. Two weeks ago he began accusing the party and former Vice President Walter F. Mondale of engineering the rules, which were revised after the 1980 election, in order to give well-known candidates an unfair advantage in the contest. He repeated that charge at the news conference; Mr. Manatt's answer was that it was "absolutely not true."

Such public discussion is precisely what Mr. Manatt would like to avoid. Indeed, the party chairman invited Mr. Jackson to present his bill of particulars on the rules on Dec. 5, in the hope that that would dissuade Mr. Jackson from raising the issue during the committee's national fund-raising tour of Presidential candidates Dec. 5 and Dec. 6. The particulars include an attack on the "threshold requirement," which calls for a candidate to take a certain percentage of the vote in a state before winning delegates in proportion to that share, and a protest against the "winner-take-all" rule, under which, in seven key states, all delegates to a district are assigned to the candidate getting a plurality. Also on the list were caucuses, and the plan to award automatic delegate seats to 568 elected officials and party leaders, most of whom are white men.

A Go-Ahead for General Toyota

To hear their critics tell it, General Motors and Toyota all but got permission to violate antitrust laws last week simply by agreeing not to violate them too much. The Federal Trade Commission gave the two automakers preliminary approval to go ahead with a joint venture after the companies signed a consent agreement limiting their partnership.

The companies propose to produce a Toyota-designed car in a G.M.-owned plant in Fremont, Calif., for the modernization of which the American company has committed \$150 million. Under the agreement sought by the F.T.C., they can produce no more than 200,000 cars a year during the 12-year life of the partnership and must limit the amount of information they share.

Chrysler Corporation and the Ford Motor Company have opposed the plan since the F.T.C. began studying it in February. Chrysler last week denounced the deal as "illegal by anyone's measure of the antitrust law, including the Reagan Administration's." Michael Pertschuk, a dissenting commissioner, agreed, calling it "a plain and unambiguous violation of the antitrust laws."

With tentative approval granted by a 3 to 2 vote, the plan will be held up 60 days while the F.T.C. receives and reviews public comment. Toyota's lawyer in the case, Earl Kinter, a former F.T.C. commissioner, said he strongly doubted whether the commission would change its position after the comment period. "All the arguments that could be advanced have been advanced," he said. "All the facts that could have been brought to bear have been brought to bear."

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Pentagon at War Over Drug Tests

The Pentagon's crackdown on drug abuse in the military has run into trouble. Disputes over the accuracy of urine tests administered to three million servicemen a year have thrown the program into confusion and led one critic to charge that the tests could result in "a travesty of justice."

That critic, Col. William W. Manders, the program's quality control chief, said in an interview last week that he felt "people are likely to get railroaded" because of sloppily performed tests of a type that, even when performed correctly, can yield inaccurate results. After he testified to that effect for the defense in a Florida court martial, the Pentagon branded him "a serious impediment" to the program and arranged his transfer to a California post that has nothing to do with drug testing.

John H. Johns, the Deputy Assistant Secretary in charge of drug policy, said the transfer had nothing to do with Colonel Manders's testimony at the court martial. Instead, he cited what he said was the colonel's failure to provide anything more than "conjectures and feelings" to back up his assertions.

Other experts apparently share the colonel's view of the disputed tests, which deal mainly with gas liquid chromatographic detection of marijuana residue. Critics say chromatography is not foolproof because it is based on the time it takes a substance to travel through a column of material, and different substances can take the same time.

Settling for Less At Greyhound

More than 12,000 Greyhound employees went back to work last week with the air of a losing team resigned to consoling itself by talking of the next season. After seven weeks of picketing marked by occasional violence on one side and threats of mass firing on the other, drivers, mechanics and other union workers accepted a package of concessions centered on a 7.8 percent pay cut.

Greyhound had said the concessions were necessary because of increased competition from other bus lines and discount air carriers. The union insisted the company was understating the effect of the wage and benefit cuts it proposed, and managed to wheedle the pay cut part down from an initial 9.8 percent. The union's other concessions included a 4 percent employee contribution to the pension plan.

Harry Rosenblum, president of the Greyhound division of the Amalgamated Transit Union, made no attempt to put a happy face on the settlement. "It was a game of hardball and they played harder," he said. "We'll be back in three years."

Mr. Rosenblum was almost sanguine compared to some local union leaders. "We're shocked, disappointed, dismayed," said Rick Ash, a spokesman for the Transit Union local in Boston. He said the union had achieved "absolutely nothing" and had been "sold out."

Carlisle C. Douglas,
Caroline Rand Herron
and Michael Wright



Commuters boarding Greyhound bus in New York last week. The New York Times/Dith Pran

White House Strategists Are Banking on the Economic Rebound

Can Reagan Defuse the 'Fairness' Issue?

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON — A year ago, the public relations engineers at the White House, concerned about President Reagan's re-election chances in the face of what politicians call the fairness issue, vowed to make strides in 1983 on improving the President's troublesome standing among women and blacks. The strategy was to Platonize the problem, describing it as a matter of perception separate from reality, with such factors as the economic recovery expected to slowly make converts among Reagan critics.

Whatever progress the President may now be claiming, it did not prevent his having to face the bluntest of re-election questions at his press conference last week: "Do you think you'll have enough white males to win?"

To some Republican strategists, this summarizing of their problem was not as aggressive as it sounded, for they also have attempted to emphasize, although in positive fashion, the male corollary of the delicate "gender gap" issue. While Democrats relish the fact that women generally have registered as much as 20 percentage points lower than men in their opinion-poll enthusiasm for the President, the President's men turn this around. They cite polls showing a two-thirds approval rating among men, while the Democrats emphasize their own data showing that most women disapprove.

This approach demonstrates the statistical creativity that can be brought to bear on the "fairness" issue, and not only between the parties, but even between two different members of the same Administration. In the recent dispute over whether evidence of hunger is documented or merely "anecdotal," Edwin Meese 3d, the President's counselor, responded to critics at one point by citing some numbers and arguing that the Democrats' earlier Federal campaign against poverty had actually aggravated today's poverty problems. Only a month earlier, David A. Stockman, the President's budget director, had cited some numbers and told Congress that poverty was not nearly as extensive now as it was at the outset of the campaign against poverty.

Personal Reassurance

Above all the skirmishing, the Republicans feel they have in Mr. Reagan the master at repairing misperceptions and carrying the average voter beyond statistics. "There has been nothing in our programs that can be taken as prejudice against any sector of our society," the President replied to the "white male" question. "We are taking care of more people than we've ever taken care of before," he said of the hunger issue.

This kind of personal reassurance is a key Republican strategy for obviating data cited by critics suggesting, for example, that the Federal tax burden has more than doubled on the poor in recent years, despite the Reagan tax cut. Likewise, while the President points to the growth of some welfare statistics as evidence of official compassion, the Congressional Budget Office reports the numbers would be even higher — roughly \$3 billion a year in food stamps and child nutrition — except for cuts won earlier by the President.

In similar fashion, the President claims a higher percentage of female appointments than his predecessor, but the rate cited, 14 percent, includes a wide range of jobs. Of the top Administration jobs, only 5 percent are held by women.

The fairness issue, while sensed as such a subjective phenomenon for the voter, carries with it



Men at the Salvation Army's soup kitchen in Manhattan last week. The New York Times/Jim Wilson

some of the most difficult statistical disputes of politics. "Hunger" itself is a subjective state; but pediatricians in Chicago report a 24 percent increase in the last two years in Cook County Hospital admissions involving the clinical symptoms of malnutrition — low weight and dehydration.

Cutting Losses

Even while addressing the issue in ideal terms, Administration strategists basically are aiming to cut their losses. While they would be pleased to hold the one black vote in 10 that the President received in 1980, they are more concerned with reassuring white moderate voters that the President is opposed to prejudice. Similarly, while idealizing about winning nearly equal shares of the male and female electorate next year, they will aim at those women concerned more with Social Security than the Equal Rights Amendment.

Some Reagan strategists, however, talk more and more of data and less of perception as the election year approaches. They cite specific

inflation and unemployment-rate improvements as the eventual cure for much of their "fairness" and gender problems. But perceptions seem to attract more attention.

In announcing proposals this fall for changing some existing Federal regulations affecting women, Administration officials were quick to describe a number of the proposals as merely "cosmetic" in effect. This only stirred a new spate of complaints of the President being insensitive in the real issue. As 1984 approaches, some Reaganites, particularly those involved in the re-election campaign, stress that there must be an end to such rhetorical touches.

This is particularly important in Mr. Reagan's case, according to an official who recalls the President's "caveman" metaphor last summer in saluting women's progress. "Even if the so-called women's issues are minor in the broader context of the economic issue," the official said, "they are nonetheless symbolic, and that's where we need to demonstrate concern."

A Banner Season for Winter Wheat May Lead to a June Surplus

Going for Broke With a Bumper Crop

By SETH S. KING

WASHINGTON — From the living room window of his farmhouse near Pratt, in central Kansas, Earl Rosenbaum could see last week where his fields cuddled in new snow.

Mr. Rosenbaum, like most farmers in the winter wheat regions of the Middle West, was set to enjoy a white Christmas with the happy assurance that his crop, now in the best condition he can remember seeing in 34 years of farming, is well protected and likely to be one of his most bountiful ever. "That snow, when it's four below zero outside, is like a great woolly blanket," he said in a telephone conversation. "The wheat's comfortably asleep under it and there are only a few bad things that can happen to it until I can get it into the bins early next summer."

While many other Middle Western wheat farmers shared Mr. Rosenbaum's satisfaction with the quality of the crop, many were disturbed about the potential quantity. Here's why:

In 1981 and 1982, American wheat farmers broke all production records with crops of 2.79 and 2.80 billion bushels. This year, farmers reduced their total plantings by 20 percent to be eligible for the Government's payment-in-kind program, through which they receive direct gifts of Government surplus grain in return for letting their land lie fallow. They still produced a 2.4 billion bushel crop, the fourth largest in history. With both domestic and export consumption down, they had been able to sell barely half of what they held the year before and two months ago still had nearly 3 billion bushels on hand.

For 1984, Agriculture Secretary John R. Block has offered another payment-in-kind plan for wheat. But most wheat growers consider its benefits so skimpy that they believe they can make more money by increasing their plantings and doing without Government subsidies. Agriculture Department figures last week confirmed this trend. The department said winter wheat growers had seeded nearly 65 million acres, 4 percent more than last year and only 2 percent less than when they produced the record-breaking 1982 crop. With the new winter wheat in such good shape, the latest plantings could yield a total crop next fall of nearly 3 billion bushels, which nobody would know what to do with.

For well over a century, winter wheat, which makes up three-quarters of this country's wheat production, has been the primary source of bread flour for the United States and the biggest grain export. Planted in the fall, winter wheat grows from six inches to a foot high before the first



United Press International
Kansas winter wheat at harvest time.

freezes send it into dormancy. By the end of May the heads usually begin to fill out. By late June, the wheat is ripe; the fields have turned from deep green to tawny gold. With the new varieties developed three years ago, farmers like Mr. Rosenbaum can harvest from 40 to 60 bushels on each acre, a yield the Great Plains settlers of 130 years ago would have found incredible.

Winter wheat's hardiness and higher yields have more than doubled American wheat production since 1960. Today, despite Government supply-control programs, farmers are raising two-thirds more wheat than is consumed domestically. If they cannot export the excess, it quickly becomes a price-depressing surplus.

"It's like going to the gambling table for nine months," Mr. Rosenbaum said. "Except that we're playing with an investment of a couple of hundred thousand dollars, which is about what it costs many of us each year to plant, harvest, and pay the debts on our land and machinery." But the biggest concern wheat farmers have this winter, as they have had in most of the past 20 years, is the threat of a surplus.

have this weekend when his three children and two grandchildren made it home for Christmas.

He didn't share Mr. Rosenbaum's gloomy surplus outlook, although he agreed that everything pointed to another bin-bursting crop. He said he had planted more than he did last year, when he was in the payment-in-kind program, and doubted he would get back into PIK next year unless Washington made it more attractive. "It's true we're a bunch of blind optimists," he said. "I think we'll sell more wheat next year and I even think the price will go up 15 to 20 cents a bushel because there'll be more exported and more fed to cattle next year."

Even if they didn't think prices would improve, Mr. Hayes said, he and the other wheat growers would "still be out there hoping something or other would come along later and help us." "Planting and planting are what most wheat farmers are interested in, not Government programs," he said. "We all like to see things growing and not being plowed under to get eligible for government help. We get just as excited at harvest time as we do at Christmas."

The Economy

China Courtship Of Capitalism

Peking hoped its special economic zones would lure high tech. But it hasn't worked out quite as planned.

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

XIAMEN, China — When imperial China lost the Opium War to Britain in 1841, this scenic port was one of the first forced open to trade with the West. It was called Amoy then, and foreign merchants built their tiled-roof mansions among the banyan trees on the lush, granite-studded Gulangyu Island.

Today, Xiamen (pronounced SHYA-men) is soliciting modern technology for its special economic zone, a variant of the old colonial concession, with promises of tax holidays, cheap land and labor, even limited access to the Chinese domestic market.

The special economic zones were considered a bold innovation in China's open-door economic policy when they were introduced four years ago. But they have been somewhat of a disappointment, failing to attract the high-technology industries that Peking sought in authorizing their creation.

Only one of the four authorized zones has been conspicuously successful in attracting business so far — Shenzhen in Guangdong province near Hong Kong. But most of the \$1.5 billion in new factories or planned investment for that zone, which occupies 127 square miles, has come from overseas Chinese and Hong Kong businessmen — in the form of relatively simple assembly operations. They make use of inexpensive Chinese labor to produce radio recorders, electronic watches, handbags and trendy Cabbage Patch Kids dolls for sale abroad.

Now the spotlight is on the newer and smaller zone (it is only one square mile) that is going up in the Huli area near Xiamen, about 300 miles northeast of Hong Kong. The tax breaks, special land deals and other incentives authorized for Shenzhen have been liberalized even more for Xiamen, in the hope that high-technology industries will move in from abroad.

So far, the results have been mixed. The R. J. Reynolds Company is putting up a cigarette factory, largely to export Winston and Salem cigarettes, but also because the Chinese will allow a big chunk of the factory's output to be sold inside China. That was one of the liberalized inducements offered for Xiamen, which is in Fujian province.

The first investment here was a \$4 million floor tile factory put up by businessmen from Singapore. The

tiles, which are made with a new West German kiln, will be exported to

Southeast Asia. Other scheduled tenants include a Hong Kong company that will assemble electronic equipment and a Filipino concern that will produce ornamental jewelry.

Despite their high-technology goals, the Chinese didn't reject the jewelry investment, or any of the others.

"They want high technology but they also want hard currency, and if the investment can do both, fine," said an American business specialist. "If nobody is offering high technology to take the space, they will settle for an investor who offers something that brings in the hard currency."

In addition to Shenzhen and Xiamen, the Chinese also authorized the establishment of special economic zones in Zhuhai and Shantou, which are near Shenzhen in Guangdong province. On a visit to Xiamen last month, Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang envisioned the four zones as windows for displaying advanced world technology and management styles and not just as devices for creating jobs or spurring production.

"There would be no point in running special economic zones if we allow in enterprises possessing mediocre technology and occupying too much space," Mr. Zhao said, though he did not threaten to evict those businesses that had already set up shop.

China's special economic zones offer far easier terms on such things as land rents and wages than are available for foreign investors elsewhere in China. In addition, local authorities have been given the power to make final decisions on investments in each zone. That's in sharp contrast to investment in the rest of the country, whose planned economy is run from Peking. Foreigners sometimes spend years negotiating with the Chinese Government before being allowed to start a business venture.

Nevertheless, the easier conditions have drawn only a fraction of China's overall foreign investment, which totals \$13 billion, according to statistics published recently by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade.

The Washington-based China Business Review reported last September that only two United States ventures had been set up so far in the special economic zones, in partnership with Chinese so they can qualify to sell in the domestic market later. These were a \$20 million project in Shenzhen by the Baker Marine Corporation to build and lease semisubmersible oil drilling rigs and R. J. Reynolds's initial \$12 million operation to make cigarettes in Xiamen.

Most of the remaining investment has come from Hong Kong and from overseas Chinese, according to the China Business Review. By contrast, 17 United States joint-equity ventures and 58 non-American joint-equity ventures have been made outside the special economic zones.

Total American investments in China have reached \$500 million, according to United States Embassy estimates in Peking. The majority of these are related to oil exploration



Xiamen's new harbor at Dongdu, which was built to serve shipping for the city's special economic zone.

under way along China's Continental Shelf, including drilling and servicing operations. The Chinese oil operations are national in scope and therefore not eligible for the preferential treatment.

Although Xiamen is reported to be attracting the interest of Western businessmen, until recently its facilities have made it less than ideal for export operations. For one thing, its harbor is only 140 miles from Taiwan, which retarded economic development until tensions along the strait declined more than a decade ago. Fujian province has since been achieving an annual industrial and agricultural growth of 8.4 percent.

To make Xiamen more accessible, the Fujian government built a new international airport this year with a \$21 million loan from the Arab Development Bank in Kuwait. A deeper new harbor at nearby Dongdu can now handle ships of up to 50,000 tons at one of its four berths, according to Wu Yaoyong, a port official.

In addition, a new Xiamen joint development corporation has been set up to develop the zone with a \$125 million loan financed by the Bank of China in Peking and a consortium of five other banks in Hong Kong and Macao.

The Xiamen zone's basic facilities, including power, water and sewage lines, are still unfinished. Shao Bai, a staff member at the temporary headquarters, said that when the first stage is completed by the end of 1984, the zone will accommodate 100 to 120 enterprises with 25,000 employees. With the completion of a second phase in 1988, Miss Shao said, the zone would expand to include 200 plants with 35,000 employees.

In the campaign to attract investment, those in charge of Xiamen have offered to levy an income tax on foreign companies of 15 percent, which is comparable to Shenzhen's and less than half that levied outside China's special economic zones. But enterprises with an investment of more than \$2.5 million or with advanced technology get a tax holiday for the first two profit-making years and a half-tax for the next three years.

Land can be rented for 14 cents to barely \$1 a foot, a fraction of the charges in Shenzhen. And companies bringing in advanced technology can extend the standard 30-year lease to 50 years.

Xiamen also claims to supply a more educated labor force than is employed in Shenzhen and Guangdong's other special economic zones. A vocational course in basic electronics was integrated into the high school curriculum for 250 young people designated for jobs in the Xiamen special economic zone. "Shenzhen is only a small town while Xiamen is a big town with a long history, so obviously the educational level is higher here," said Shi Zhailiang, officer director of the Xiamen zone's headquarters.

Wages run from 400 to 600 Hong Kong dollars a month, or about \$51 to \$77, which is also less than in Shenzhen. The workers, however, collect only 70 percent of this; the Chinese side skims off the rest, ostensibly for welfare benefits, a practice that has reduced the difference between wages paid here and those elsewhere in the world.

But one of the biggest inducements for foreign investment has been the

opportunity, written into new national regulations on joint ventures last September, to sell products domestically. Initially, China insisted that investors export their goods for hard currency.

In his tour of Xiamen last month, Prime Minister Zhao mentioned this privilege for plants using modern technology. "We may offer a certain portion of the market or even more favorable terms to enterprises that are truly advanced," he said. Xiamen's own regulations stipulated that products that used Chinese raw materials or that were in limited supply in China might be sold domestically according to a ratio negotiated between the two sides.

Another provision of the new national regulations lets foreign companies convert their local profits into hard currency if an "imbalance" exists between the foreign exchange income and expenses, but leaves the details to the local authorities. While this provision in theory applies to all joint ventures in China, the special economic zones appear likely to be more accommodating in releasing hard currency. The regulations in Xiamen, while not addressing this directly, allow foreign enterprises and individuals to remit "all the incomes" from China after the income tax is paid.

A provincial newspaper, the Fujian Daily, recently reported that 18 of 29 contracts and agreements signed in the last two years for investment in Xiamen had been reached this year, with an anticipated value of \$10 million. While most investors in the special economic zones have been Hong Kong or overseas Chinese, the ma-

jority of prospective investors visiting Xiamen this year, it said, came from Japan, Western Europe and the United States.

The one prominent American company that Xiamen has already attracted — R. J. Reynolds — has been manufacturing Camel filter-tip cigarettes in a workshop in the city of Xiamen, taking advantage of its liberal application of preferential terms normally limited to the special zones. Now Reynolds is starting a new factory in the special zone nearby to make Winstons and Salems. One-third of the initial production of 30,000 big cases a year will be exported, another third will be sold for hard currency in Chinese hotels and stores for foreigners, and the final third will be sold on the domestic market.

And a Coca-Cola plant is scheduled to open in Xiamen next year to produce a line of soft drinks, including, for the first time, Fanta and Sprite for the domestic market. The plant will reach an eventual annual capacity of 48 million bottles. Coca-Cola is already operating elsewhere in China and Pepsi-Cola opened a bottling plant in Shenzhen earlier last year.

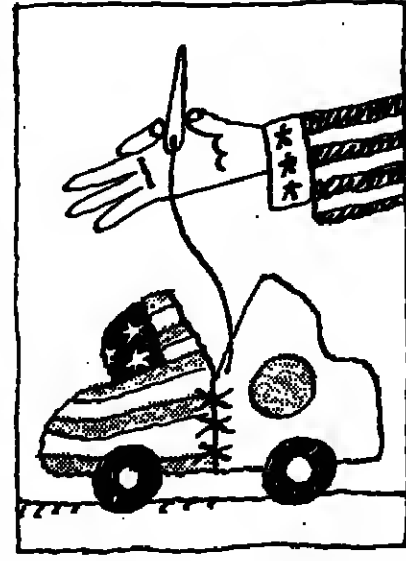
Both the Reynolds and Coke projects are important to China's special economic zones because they bring in American foreign investment, which has been concentrated outside the special zones, either in offshore oil exploration or in hotel or industrial joint ventures like the production of Jeep vehicles by the American Motors Corporation in Peking. Such projects have bypassed the incentives offered by the special zones for closer proximity to industrial and other urban facilities.

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Toyota and G.M. Get a Green Light

The Federal Trade Commission decided in a three-to-two vote that the General Motors-Toyota joint venture to produce subcompact cars does not violate antitrust laws and the two companies can proceed with their production plans. Thus, the F.T.C. ended an investigation that had dragged on for 15 months. The final approval came only after the two big companies agreed to a consent decree that limits production to 200,000 subcompacts a year. Even so, the five-man commission was split, with the three Reagan appointees pitted against the two appointed during the Carter Administration. "A plain and unambiguous violation of the antitrust laws," said Michael Fertschuk, who was chairman of the F.T.C. under President Carter and voted against the Toyota-G.M. deal. The venture was also opposed by the Ford Motor Company and the Chrysler Corporation, which argued that because of their size, G.M. and Toyota could use their venture to dominate the subcompact market. The consent decree is intended to prevent such domination.

Defiance (di fenzns). Webster's defines it as "the annulment of a contract or a deed." The S.E.C. is defining it as getting long-term debt off the corporate books. In a 4-to-0 vote, the commission approved an accounting practice that permits companies to



buy Treasury securities and reduce their balance sheet debt by an equal amount, a practice that improves cash flow. In addition, the company has to place the Government debt in a trust account with a pledge to pay the interest and principle on the debt, "invisible" debt as it comes due. Some corporations, including Exxon and Kellogg, have been using this "in-substance corporate defeasance" for a while, but the practice has generated complaints among accountants who say it unduly favors cash-rich compa-

nies that can afford the Treasury securities.

A.T.&T.'s long-expected plunge into the European telecommunications marketplace became a reality with the announcement that it would buy a 25 percent stake in Olivetti of Italy for \$260 million. Though A.T.&T. agreed not to buy any more shares of the large office equipment maker for four years, the new relationship will provide the phone company with a network for sales of its telecommunications and office equipment in Europe — a market it ignored during its monopoly days.

The economy is slowing down, to the relief of many economists. The Government's "flash" report on fourth-quarter real growth in the output of goods and services showed a 4.5 percent annual rate of increase, down from a 7.6 percent rate in the third quarter. Some economists had predicted that the strong levels of consumer spending recently would push the economy too hard and reheat inflation. Instead, much of the consumer spending appeared to be on imported products. Inflation continued at a moderate pace in November, as the Consumer Price Index rose three-tenths of one percent. That brought the inflation rate for the first 11 months of 1983 to 3.8 percent. And housing showed signs of renewed

vigor as November housing starts climbed 6.4 percent to an annual rate of 1.7 million units.

The White House also thinks the 4.5 percent growth rate will continue into next year. It announced that its budget projections will include that growth rate, plus a 5 percent inflation rate and a 7.7 percent unemployment rate by year-end.

Stocks continued to be driven up and down by speculation over interest rates and Federal Reserve policy. The Dow Jones industrial average gained 8.34 points during the week, to close at 1,250.51. Interest rates did move moderately lower throughout the week, but a \$2 billion drop in M-1 for the financial week ended Dec. 14 may push rates up again next week because of fears that the Fed is being too restrictive with money growth. The credit markets closed early on Friday and thus could not react to the money supply report.

Iran did settle a big account with the Bank of America. The Treasury announced that the Iranian government had agreed to a \$472 million loan repayment to the Bank of America, the largest of its kind since 1979. The bank will only get \$183 million because \$289 million will be paid back to Iran to cover interest on Iranian accounts frozen at the bank.

The New York Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED DECEMBER 23, 1983				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
ATT	23,910,100	61 1/2	- 1 1/2	
ATTW	18,615,600	18	- 1/2	
A Exp	7,182,400	32 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
PS Ind	5,138,100	11 1/2	- 5	
LILCO	4,743,700	11 1/2	- 1 1/2	
IBM	4,260,400	123 1/2	+ 2 1/2	
Diam S	3,630,100	19 1/2	+ 1/2	
UAL	3,623,600	36 1/2	+ 1/2	
Champ Sp	3,185,500	11 1/2	+ 1/2	
Pan Am	3,090,300	8 1/2	- 1/2	
South	3,065,600	31 1/2	- 6 1/2	
Atl Rich	3,054,000	42 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
AMR Co	2,736,600	36	+ 1/2	
Cmw E	2,697,000	25 1/2	- 1 1/2	
Mobil	2,681,200	26 1/2	+ 1/2	
Standard & Poor's				
400 Indust	186.1	180.9	184.1	+1.30
20 Transp	31.6	30.3	30.8	-0.07
40 Util	87.1	85.4	85.8	-0.74
40 Financial	18.2	17.7	18.0	+0.17
500 Stocks	165.0	160.8	163.2	+0.83
Dow Jones				
30 Indust	1265.2	1236.7	1250.5	+8.34
20 Transp	600.7	575.3	587.2	+2.89
15 Util	132.4	128.8	130.6	+0.38
65 Comb	504.8	492.9	497.6	+1.00
The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED DEC. 23, 1983				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
MCI	5,575,400	14	- 1	
AppleC	3,135,000	24 1/2	- 1/2	
Piezo	2,602,500	1-1/16	+1/16	
GrpSc	2,314,500	6 1/2	+ 1/2	
ConvgtS	2,232,500	25	+ 2 1/2	
Tandm	2,073,500	20 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
GlenFd	1,915,200	9 1/2	...	
CalFSL	1,900,900	21 1/2	+ 1/2	
MonCa	1,814,300	34 1/2	+ 2	
FujiPh	1,610,200	16 1/2	- 1/2	
MARKET DIARY				
	Last Week	Prev Week		
Advances	925	622		
Declines	1,086	1,414		
Total Issues	2,255	2,251		
New Highs	92	81		
New Lows	212	144		
VOLUME (A.P.M. New York Close)				
	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	435,950,030	21,281,714,067		
Same Per. 1982	286,582,430	16,191,439,738		
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
	High	Low	Last Change	
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	110.5	108.9	110.0	+0.74
Transp	95.8	94.7	96.8	-1.37
Util	49.9	45.9	46.0	-0.84
Finance	93.9	92.7	93.9	+0.95
Composite	94.7	93.5	94.1	+0.31
MARKET INDEX				
	High	Low	Last Change	Net
Composite	276.54	274.51	275.54	+0.53

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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'A Great Joy'

The story begins very simply. A man and his pregnant wife are on a journey. They had planned to stay at an inn but because all the rooms are gone they take shelter in a stable. During the night the woman gives birth to a son. Her husband is her only help, farm animals the only witnesses.

The woman swaddles the boy in cloth and nestles him in the straw. The desert is cold after sunset, and his parents may be grateful for the animals' warmth. A little rest, and the family will move on.

Not far from the stable, and ignorant of the birth, some shepherds are grazing their flocks when they are suddenly, frighteningly wrapped in light. An angel appears and says, "Be not afraid; for behold I bring you news of a great joy."

The rest of the tale has been 2,000 years in the

telling. The plot involves great deeds and great cruelty, extraordinary courage and extraordinary cowardice. The characters range from famous personages who have done both good and evil in that child's honor, to unknown multitudes who have said his name, in prayer, before sleep. Millions have said it before dying.

There have been eras in which it seemed unlikely that the story would ever be told again. But new pages are forever being written. Some, personal accounts of hope or despair, will be read only by those who lived them. Others will be read by the world. The ending isn't in view; each chapter serves to introduce the next.

A man, a woman, a stable, a birth. Out of such unpromising material, such an astonishment.

The Chicanery of 'Silkwood'

"Silkwood" is a delightful movie with fine performances by Meryl Streep, Kurt Russell and Cher. Like other docudramas, it is also a perversion of the reporter's craft, which it simulates. As a genre, it deserves vigorous protest.

Karen Silkwood worked as a technician in the Kerr-McGee plant at Crescent, Okla., where plutonium was fashioned into fuel rods for a breeder reactor. An active union member, she protested the safety conditions at the plant, and was herself contaminated with plutonium, but in ways that suggest it was possibly by her own hand. She gathered evidence that the quality control photographs of the fuel rods were being touched up — which they were, but to conceal dust spots, not defects.

She died in a car accident, on Nov. 13, 1974, en route to meet a New York Times reporter, David Burnham. The case became an important strand in the national debate about nuclear power, with Miss Silkwood's adherents contending that she was murdered, their opponents that she fell asleep at the wheel while on tranquilizers.

By using real names, the film purports to be a documentary account. But it makes only gestures toward presenting all facets of the case, and leaves the overwhelming impression that Karen Silkwood was murdered. The truck headlights blazing through the rear window on her final journey afford the clearest possible hint that she was forced off the road. A written epilogue that the police ruled her death a single-car accident makes only a fractional counterbalance, and tends, if anything, to corroborate the film's implied authenticity.

A legitimate course for the film's makers, ABC

Motion Pictures, would have been to select the features of the Silkwood case that met their criteria, whether for a box-office success or a particular view of the nuclear industry, and to present the film as fiction. That was the approach taken in "The China Syndrome," a film that succeeded on all levels without ever claiming to be real. ABC's decision to select data and present them as the whole truth respects neither evidence nor audience.

Films like "Reds" or "Gandhi" also adapt real events to their own purposes. The difference is that they do so without deception. Viewers well know that the real medium of history is the history book, and that the dramatist or film producer must take certain accepted licenses to fit the material into a play or film. But the documentary is a real medium of journalism; the docudrama usurps its authenticity, just as would an advertisement written to be indistinguishable from a news column.

Contemporary events, like the death of Karen Silkwood, are not history, though they may become so. Real names, people and places are not common property that can be taken and remolded at will by thesis-builders. They should be reported with respect for the evidence in its own right.

A docudrama of this type is a meretricious creation that breaks the rules of reporting and misleads the viewer for purposes that can usually be attained just as well by other means. "Silkwood" could have succeeded so easily as fiction that it has even less excuse than most docudramas for the chicanery of its genre.

Testing Means, and Meanness

What's the Reagan approach to hunger? The Administration displayed it last week in both theory and practice.

The President himself articulated the theory, in defending his cuts in social service programs. "It wasn't that we were feeding too many of the needy," he said. "We were taking care of too many of the non-needy." That puts the matter plainly. When given a choice between feeding the hungry and catching cheaters, his Administration would rather catch cheaters.

The Department of Agriculture, meanwhile, was putting the theory into practice. It promulgated new regulations concerning surplus food. States must now impose "income-based standards" to insure that only truly needy people get free food, in bulk or at soup kitchens.

In other words, it's no longer enough for poor people to wait in the cold for five hours to get a \$7 slab of surplus cheese. It's no longer enough to wait three hours for a soup-kitchen lunch. Now when they get to the head of the line, they're to be subjected to some sort of means test. They'll have to certify somehow that they are poor.

Think about that for a minute. There's nothing outrageous about the idea of means-testing. It makes eminent sense in a program like food stamps, intended only for people under the poverty level. But that's vastly different from the ragged,

right-now hunger at soup kitchens. True, some states have distributed surplus food to the elderly, poor or not, producing grotesque anecdotes. A Connecticut dwager with a cook does not need her own slab of free cheese. But neither does she reflect the reality of need.

In a meticulous report on hunger last week, Robert Pear of The Times quoted authorities from around the country. From Manhattan: "People who come here do so because they want to stay alive." From Los Angeles: "If they're in line out there, they're hungry." From Massachusetts: "There is malnutrition. It's documentable." Not documentable enough to satisfy the Administration, however. It insists on testing people's means.

Who does Mr. Reagan think these people are? Stable householders who can readily produce, say, a photocopy of their last I.R.S. Form 1040? How many simple soup-kitchens does Mr. Reagan think could afford to hire inspectors to identify the "truly needy"? Is it such a crime against the social order to feed some people who are not desperate with hunger but merely near-poor?

Distributing surplus food is not an ideal way to fight hunger. Food stamps are much preferable, avoiding the inescapable distribution problems. Yet surplus food can bring some relief to the mean streets. Why taint it with regulations that show a mean spirit?

The Worm and the Apple

Displays Below Ground

Mongrel Trains

Why is the subway system so degenerated? A frequent rider who knows has come up with a new theory: inbreeding. Looking for a purebred No. 3 train from Times Square, she encountered one that seemed the product of an incestuous relationship. As the roll-signs on the sides of the cars flashed past, she said 2 and some said 3. What was its parentage, and where was it headed?

Over at the IND, another brother-sister marriage apparently produced the MD train — not a physician's special, but a train whose front is labeled M, while its sides are marked with a D, or vice versa.

Not all hybrid trains reflect the intermingling of routes. Back on the

West Side IRT, a train appears to have been parented by a local who became involved with her express cousin. Though express genes dominate, as any passenger willing to risk a ride on the train will testify, it bears the baffling markings of a mongrel: EXPRESS-LOCAL. (Embarrassed transit officials explain that the sign actually belongs on the Flushing Line's No. 7 train, which runs express in one direction, local in the other.)

Hybridization may strengthen some species, but the subway cross-breeding produces only confusion. A worm to the Transit Authority for not verifying that the right signs get on the right trains.

Unexpected Treasures

Touring a basement is seldom anybody's idea of a good time. Unless,

that is, they've descended the stairs to I.B.M.'s Gallery of Science and Art at Madison Avenue and 58th Street. There a trip through the cellar will take them past a remarkable array of Cezannes, van Goghs, Bonnard's, Degas and one of the most famous of all Rembrandts.

They are among the 100 paintings and drawings from the Phillips Collection that have been touring the country while the collection's home, in Washington, is being renovated. But the show wasn't scheduled for New York City until I.B.M. requested it to inaugurate its new gallery.

The show, till Jan. 21, is free and the audience is highly responsive. "I'll take it," we heard one woman say in front of Vuillard's "Woman Sweeping." An Apple to I.B.M. for providing a space for such pleasures.

Letters

On the Separation of Deficit and Social Security

To the Editor:

"Beyond the Deficit," your lead editorial of Dec. 11, reflects a lack of understanding of the role of Social Security trust funds in the Federal budget. The fact is that the solvency of these funds is separate from the ability of the Federal Government to balance the budget from year to year.

Apparently you have overlooked the results of the report of the National Commission on Social Security Reform (released last January) and the Social Security amendments of 1983, signed into law as recently as April.

Substantial rearrangements were made in that law in order to keep the Old Age and Survivors' and Disability Trust Funds in balance for a number of years to come. This resulted from a very delicate compromise and was described by some members of Congress as a "legislative miracle." Those complicated issues have thus been resolved.

In addition, the national commission (with a Republican majority) recognized the need to separate once again the Social Security trust funds

from the unified Federal budget. This, too, was ratified by Congress and signed into law by the President, although the changeover will not take place until Federal fiscal year 1992.

This action reflects the understanding that the trust funds should not be part of the Federal budget and should not be assailed either as a cause of the Federal deficit or as a potential solution to our budgetary difficulties. Rather, the Federal Government's role in Social Security should be viewed as that of a transfer agent channeling funds from people who work to those who used to work.

The size of this transfer is an economic question and a public policy question (i.e., How much of our gross national product do we want to commit?) but not a budgetary question.

With respect to Medicare, the Federal public policy questions remain to be resolved.

It is true that exploding health-care costs are fast depleting the trust funds. At the same time, the out-of-pocket health care expenditures of the elderly are now greater (as a percentage of income) than they were

when Medicare was enacted. Among other things, this results in the avoidance or delay of much-needed medical care by older people.

An Administration study group may soon release a report on which Congress will eventually have to act. Even here, however, the Social Security amendments of 1983 have legislated the separation of the principal Medicare Trust Fund from the unified Federal budget in recognition that it should not be viewed as a "political football" to be tossed about for electoral purposes.

Therefore, it is inappropriate to argue that "unless Social Security is cut again, along with Medicare," we can't make any headway on our deficit problem. You ought to review this position and reframe your editorial policy accordingly.

JACK SHEINKMAN
GERTRUDE LANDAU
New York, Dec. 15, 1983

The writers are the heads, respectively, of the Ad Hoc Committee on Social Security and the Citizens' Committee on Aging of the Community Council of Greater New York.

Sound Returns From Investment in Space

To the Editor:

Your Dec. 18 editorial "Space Station in the Ballot Box" misses the mark by a wide margin by implying that NASA is unaware of potential space station applications, when just the opposite is true.

Several organizations recently performed NASA-sponsored studies that outlined in great detail the societal benefits of manned space stations, as well as the means for achieving them through improved manufacturing, research and delivery of services. I'm sure their findings are in the public domain.

More to the point, it does not take some great leap of faith to recognize that significant advances for mankind cannot always be pre-programmed. About a separate but related issue, former Princeton Professor David Hazen once said, "If we knew the answer, it wouldn't be research, would it?" Not every new endeavor provides rich rewards, but we cannot hope for such rewards without some measure of risk and commitment.

Because communications satellites, weather satellites, earth resources satellites, search-and-rescue aids and unmanned space probes have been so successful, it is entirely safe to conclude that society benefits from the manned space program. But would the same conclusion have been predicted two or three decades ago?

It is fashionable in some circles to describe the Apollo moon-landing project as "only" a technological triumph, implying that any future manned space projects are destined to be white elephants, even as the

space shuttle begins to show substantial accomplishment. Such comments are more likely to come from those least familiar with the manned space program, its ancillary devel-



opments and subsequent advances in related technologies.

The space program, both manned and unmanned, has provided benefits to this country far beyond those that might have been predicted in the recent past. Our investment has been repaid many times over, and future investment is a sound proposition. The notion that a manned space station is some frivolous, unaffordable dream is quite simply passé. It is time to get on with it.

ROBERT F. STENGEL
Princeton, Dec. 18, 1983
The writer is professor of mechanical and aerospace engineering at Princeton University.

South African Hinterland Long in Turmoil

To the Editor:

Your Dec. 14 news story "Trouble Stirs in South African Hinterland" gives the mistaken impression that before last month guerrilla attacks on

Afrikanerdom were restricted to urban centers.

By the late 1970's, at least 25 percent of border-area farmers had fled to urban areas, their absence causing a missing link in the defense chain. Gauging the level of guerrilla activities, the chief of South Africa's Security Police, Brig. C. F. Zietsman, once remarked: "They [militants] go all over the country, and they contact people in various places and they get them to form cells, and then in that way they spread it all over the country. . . . They are everywhere."

In fact, warfare in the rural white redbout often goes unreported. The northern Transvaal has been declared a "combat area," and U.S. correspondents are unable to cover skirmishes there. JAMES H. MITTELMAN
Dean, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver
Denver, Dec. 16, 1983

Edwin Meese's Truth

To the Editor:

The news media and some politicians have made a big ado over Edwin Meese's statement that people who can afford to pay for food go to soup kitchens. I live in a rooming house, and I know people who earn more than 1 do but still go to soup kitchens. I also know people making over \$1,000 a month who stand in line for free Government cheese and butter. So what's so terrible about Mr. Meese telling the truth?

PEDRO VARGAS
New York, Dec. 14, 1983

Too Much Power for the Joint Chiefs' Chairman

To the Editor:

Philip Odeen's Dec. 18 letter in response to my Op-Ed article of Nov. 19 calls the House bill to give new powers to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff "modest." The last proposal so modest came from Jonathan Swift.

Mr. Odeen denies that the bill converts the Chairman into commander of all U.S. combatant forces. The general counsel of the Defense Department, Mr. Odeen notwithstanding, explained to the House that it does exactly that. The change will not take long to be felt. As one four-star officer recently commented, "Now the commanders won't have to send their reports to the Secretary of Defense anymore."

Mr. Odeen thinks the bill leaves the Chairman a mere transmitter of orders. But the House report describes it as "placing the J.C.S. Chairman in the chain of command." The bill even specifies that from now on no President will be allowed to issue an order to a commander in the field without sending it through the Chairman. There is nothing "modest" in that unconstitutional infringement of Presidential authority.

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or return unpublished letters.

Mr. Odeen ignores the real reasons not to add the Chairman to the National Security Council: to avoid politicizing the Chairman by making him an Administration policy maker, and also to prevent his donning a new legal role not answerable to the Secretary of Defense. It is not a question of who attends meetings.

Certainly the J.C.S. Chairman ought to have more authority to resolve inter-service rivalries — but not authority snatched from the President and Secretary of Defense.

Intelligent reform of the Joint Chiefs organization itself, which the House bill utterly fails to address, is what is needed. Revision of civilian-military relationships is not. In his apparent zeal for change, Mr. Odeen fails to keep the two straight. Let us hope that the Senate will.

JOHN G. KESTER
Washington, Dec. 19, 1983

A Foil for J. R. Ewing

To the Editor:

Actors have come a long way since the dark days of bigotry when they were denied Christian burial. Today, not only is an actor President of the United States, a President of the United States has become an actor. But if Gerald Ford appears in "Dynasty," may "Dallas" not ask for equal time? And if "Dallas" needs a character to outwit J. R. Ewing, may not Ford's predecessor be the better choice?

LOUIS AUCHINCLOSS
New York, Dec. 19, 1983

Supply-Side Vindication

To the Editor:

I enjoyed reading Peter Kilborn's account of how the economic forecasters missed the mark in 1983 ["Why Forecasters Strayed," Business Day Dec. 16]. The mea culpa was appropriate: "I don't think we covered ourselves in glory in 1983," as one of them put it.

But some of these same forecasters certainly went out of their way at the beginning of the year to cover the Treasury supply-siders' forecast — which turned out to be on the mark — with ridicule. Interestingly enough, the Kilborn article says nothing about the injustice done to the supply-siders. We were right about 1983, and everyone else was wrong.

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS
Washington, Dec. 16, 1983

The writer was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy in 1981-82.



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CHICAGO — The contention that we need a large stockpile of weapons so that they will never be used does not conform to the lessons of history, which show that wherever there has been a growing stockpile of weapons they have in fact been used.

According to a study by The Canadian Army Journal (1980), there were 1,587 arms races from the year 600 B.C. to A.D. 1980, and all but 10 ended in war. The study indicates that the policy of "deterrence" deters only for limited periods. When either side finally determines it has a good chance of winning, it goes to war — always with the claim that war is necessary to "preserve the peace."

In the nuclear age, the policy of deterrence has been operative for a longer period than the deterrence that stayed the hand of the Allies and Axis for a period before World War II. But that does not mean that deterrence has prevented war. It is not the stockpiles of weapons that have dissuaded each of the superpowers from attacking the other, but the inability of either side to develop a "win" scenario.

Before World War II, Germany and France feverishly "deterred" each other. The Nazis rebuilt their armed forces around a strategy of movement, dependent on Stuka bombers and Panzer tank divisions. The French, relying on the old strategy of holding on to positions, tried to deter the Germans with their seemingly impenetrable Maginot Line. By 1939, the Germans decided they could defeat the French (and the Allies). In retrospect, it is clear that deterrence did not save off war; it delayed it until one side decided it had a good chance to win.

The nuclear arms race is unique in

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Deterrence Hardly Deters

By Sidney Lens

that both sides know with mathematical certainty that they can win a war, in the sense of destroying the other, but also know they must lose it (with equal mathematical certainty) because they have no means of defending themselves from simultaneous destruction. In that sense, deterrence may be said to have "worked." Neither side has seen its way clear to a "win" scenario, especially since the 16,000-mile-an-hour missile arrived on the scene in the 1960's. Even so, there are three flaws to the argument that deterrence assures enduring peace.

The first is that it brings us to the precipice far too often. There have been at least 17 occasions when America came close to nuclear war or considered using nuclear weapons. Five were the result of accidents, such as the misreading of radar signals; nine were contemplated limited nuclear attacks such as President Richard M. Nixon's plan (he himself called it the "madman theory") to use nuclear weapons against North Vietnam by November 1969 unless Hanoi came to terms; and three were direct confrontations with the Soviet Union — in 1946, when Harry S. Truman advised Andrei A. Gromyko he would use nuclear bombs on the Soviet Union unless it withdrew its forces from Azerbaijan; in 1962, during the Cuban missile crisis; and in

1973, during the Arab-Israeli war.

A second weakness in the deterrence policy is that it cannot operate unless each side manufactures greater and greater distrust of the other. We must "scare the hell" out of the American people, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg advised President Truman early in the cold war. To prod Congress into voting larger and larger military budgets, the other side must be pictured in ever more lurid terms, making accommodation ever more difficult. Ultimately, we will become prisoners of our own fixations. Had an American or a West German plane been shot down with 269 passengers a few months ago instead of a South Korean airliner, who knows whether the American temper could have been contained short of nuclear war?

Finally, there is the problem of nuclear wars initiated by other countries. So long as the two main antagonists are in bitter contention, weaker nations will take liberties they would not otherwise dare. In 1976, President Gerald R. Ford predicted that 40 nations would have the capability to produce nuclear weapons by 1985. While that was obviously an overstatement, the possibility of many more nations joining the nuclear club is not only real, but, as Fred C. Ikle, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, has noted, poses "a danger that may make us look back on the present as a safe and easy time by comparison."

Viewed in this light, deterrence has not kept us from war; it has prepared us for war. All that is needed is for either side to conclude it can win a nuclear war — a "limited" one — or for passions to run out of control. In the end, we are no safer with 9,500 strategic warheads than if we had none. Thus, the abolition of nuclear weapons today would be no more unrealistic than the abolition of slavery in the last century.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 24 — The most successful organization in the capital of the United States in 1983 was, without question, the Washington professional football team. The reasons for its success are worthy of analysis and emulation by other Washington institutions.

First, the Redskins, as we call them, had a general manager, Bobby Beathard by name, who recruited the best talent he could find anywhere in the country, regardless of political affiliation.

His notion was that he should pick players who were coming instead of old geezers who were going in the belief that if he got them young, big and quick, he'd probably be a better chief executive.

Second, he appointed a chief of staff, or coach, Joe Gibbs by name, who looked like the head of the English department and had a squeaky voice, but also had some ideas.

For one, Gibbs thought that the interior Department, running from tackle to tackle, should be manned not by cronies but by hogs — large porky characters who could hold the line against any enemy terrorists.

For his Secretary of Defense, Gibbs chose Dave Butz (No. 65), a conservative Republican and nephew of one of the stingiest Secretaries of Agriculture in the history of the Republic.

Butz the Younger was even more conservative than Butz the Elder and never gave up an inch of ground. He was as tall as the Washington Monument, and as wide as a prairie, and he planted quarterbacks the way his uncle planted corn.

Also, the Redskins, with the help of Edward Bennett Williams, a legal eagle with a knowledge of the criminal tendencies of the human race, created an effective Central Intelligence Agency. They had satellites all over Dallas, and knew precisely where Tony Dorsett would go on third down and three, and even

WASHINGTON

The Men Of the Year

By James Reston

where Tom Landry bought his hats.

Nothing was left to chance. For ground or conventional warfare, they had the Riggins tank. This was a remarkable vehicle that could knock down or fly over walls if necessary, and they had a scooter missile with the odd name of Washington who could wiggle through enemy lines. However, their Air Force Secretary was a man named Theismann, an elusive and glibly theatrical character who was a master of cunning tricks.

He was trained in New Jersey and at Notre Dame, where he mastered the secular and spiritual arts, and he knew precisely when to punt and pray, and if all else failed, to run for his life.

In addition, the Redskins also had "special teams" to deal with opportunities. For example, on kickoffs and punt returns, they had little swiftness with swiftness in their hips. Or if they had a big tackle like a Tip O'Neil on the other side of the line, they'd just assign a couple of big bruisers to tip Tip over and make a hole for the Riggins tank.

But there was something else about the Redskins. They were the abandoned losers, with a pick-up team that thought it could win, with a lot of rejects, who could catch impossible

passes over defenders twice their size. And if necessary, in a pinch, they could call in Big Tose Moseley, who could pick up a three-point field goal from 50 yards.

At the end of '83 these practical football techniques began to impress the Redskins' political neighbors. For example, the team rejects "seniority." If the Old Boys can't "cut it," they bench them or trade them or pay them off. And when they're in trouble, they call in Moseley and go for three, and draft some new boys to carry on next year.

That's what the Redskins have been doing in the last few years, and they're on the way to the playoffs to defend their title as the champions of the Super Bowl world.

So it came to pass at the end of 1983 that the politicians in Washington de-

The Redskins have a success formula that is worthy of emulation by their political neighbors

cided that the Redskins had a "better idea." They noted that the people had supported the team and balanced the budget, that Joe Gibbs had been proclaimed as coach of the year, and Secretary of the Air Force Theismann the most valuable player, and decided that in 1984, they would follow their example.

Moral of the Fable: "Do we sing 'Hail to the Redskins?'"
"Hail yes!"



Edith Vonnegut

What Did Chico Say About 'Sanity Clause'?

By Norman G. Hickman

snowed for 12 days and 12 nights when I was six."

11. In Shakespeare's works, which of the three lords attending the King of Navarre said the following:

"At Christmas I no more desire a rose/Than wish a snow in May's new-fangled mirth..."

12. Who suggested that "every idiot who goes about with a 'Merry Christmas' on his lips should be boiled with his own pudding, and buried with a stake of holly through his heart?"

13. When the first Christmas card came out in 1843, it was condemned by what group of reformers?

14. What would you probably do if

you were given a *flex aquiforium* at Christmas time?

15. In which Christmas feature-length cartoon movie does Burgermeister Meisterburger appear?

Answers

1. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
2. They are all gifts in the song "The Twelve Days of Christmas."
3. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
4. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
5. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
6. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
7. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
8. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
9. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
10. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
11. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
12. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
13. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
14. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.
15. The birds are a partridge in a pear tree. The twelve days of Christmas.

A Christmas quiz:
1. What was to happen on Christmas morning that made Beatrix Potter's "Tailor of Gloucester" so anxious to finish a coat?
2. Merry carolers on many a frosty night over the years have sung the praises of Good King Wenceslas. Where did the good king rule?
3. How did the English Puritans celebrate Christmas?
4. Explain the connection between St. Stephen and boxing.
5. In "A Night at the Opera," Groucho Marx, by way of explaining a legal contract, says, "That's the sanity clause." What was Chico's response?
6. The white-berried mistletoe may inspire Christmas kisses and fond embraces, but what is its relationship

Norman G. Hickman wrote (with his wife Minnie) the book "Quizzes for Whizzes." These Christmas questions are from his forthcoming "The In Quiz."

to the hardwood trees in which it lives?

7. Which Rugby- and Cambridge-educated poet wrote these lines:
"And things are done you'd not believe/At Madingley on Christmas Eve."

8. Edmund Gwenn won an Academy Award as best supporting actor for his part as Kris Kringle in "Miracle on 34th Street." Give the derivation of the name Kris Kringle.

9. There are 12 in all. The first seven are birds, but what are the next five? What are they doing and when?

10. "Marley was dead, to begin with." And so, of course, did Charles Dickens begin "A Christmas Carol." But who wrote these lines:
"One Christmas was so much like another, in those years around the sea-town corner now and out of all sound except the distant voices I sometimes hear a moment before sleep, that I can never remember whether it snowed for six days and six nights when I was 12 or whether it

to the hardwood trees in which it lives?



WASHINGTON, Dec. 24 — Years from now, tots will insert the history software in their computers and punch in the query: "What were the major foreign policy achievements of the Reagan Administration?"

Hard lines will march across the screen with the answer: "The Reaganists torpedoed the Law of the Sea Treaty and then stupefied the third world by announcing the U.S.'s intention to pull out of Unesco."

The second of those decisions is to be taken next week by the President during his vacation in California. Probably through Don Fortier, the new deputy to Bud McFarlane, Mr. Reagan will direct the State Department to inform the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization that in one year's time — as the proper notice requires — the United States intends to withdraw from that three-star Paris restaurant now masquerading as an international organization.

Our threat to withdraw will be airily dismissed but sorely felt. The U.S. pays a fourth of the salaries and expenses of the 2,500 international bureaucrats who massage each other's egos in the French capital; at least a few will be forced to go out and work, although the Director General — from his palatial, rent-free apartment atop the Paris headquarters — will cling to his beloved Unescocrats, taking the \$50 million a year U.S. cut-back out of the school programs in poor countries.

The American walkout announcement is a decade overdue. Unesco started out to promote literacy and facilitate scientific communication, but its takeover by Communist stooges and third-world demagogues led to a perversion of its aims. In recent years, it has been a hotbed of rhetorical disparagements of Western industrial democracies and a center of attempts to de-legitimize Israel.

ESSAY

The New Order Changeth

By William Safire

For years, however, accommodationists in the U.S. have joined with some hard-liners in arguing that it would be wiser to remain within Unesco in hopes of reforming the wayward institution. The Unescocrats have taken this as a sign of weakness; in staying on, we have contributed to our own victimization.

No more. In a transformation of basic outlook, the professionals at the State Department have sent a tough withdrawal recommendation to the President. The incredulous will ask: Since when does the Foreign Service establishment out-Reagan Reagan? What confluence of forces effected this sea-change?

First, Lane Kirkland of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. proved what can happen when a politicized international organization is threatened with a chop in the pocketbook. In 1977, the United States told the International Labor Organization to play its games alone; by 1980, that outfit had straightened out sufficiently to enable us to rejoin.

Next, the third world made its bid for a "new world economic order" through a Law of the Sea Treaty that would have socialized the world's mineral wealth. When the Reagan Administration told LOST to get lost, the world did not come to an end; our

allies were secretly relieved; the grand scheme for the redistribution of wealth through a permanent world bureaucracy took a belly-flop.

Finally, the Unescocrats overplayed their hand with a "new world information and communications order," a power play to bring all foreign correspondents under the control of local dictators. When that came before the editorial board of The New York Times, the newspaper laid a pox Americana on the offending institution: "A United States withdrawal would not harm any democratic cause or global understanding."

That did it. "We had been concerned about more charges of know-nothingism," a high-level diplomat tells me, "and we don't need blasts at right-wing ideology being behind our decision making. But when that editorial appeared in The New York Times, we had a free pass. Nobody in the Reagan Administration wanted The Times to get to the right of us."

And so the page opposite the Op-Ed page did for a withdrawal from Unesco what Richard Nixon did for an opening to Red China: made doable what had previously been politically unthinkable. I wish the Reagan Administration could be as easily influenced by right-wingers.

Now we shall see if Britain's Conservative Government, which seems to be losing its will, supports our action in word or deed. Soon we shall see how the Canadians, the French, the Dutch and the British — who liked to let Uncle Sam tackle the difficult Unesco chores — step forward to defend Israel from third-world retaliation.

To turn Tennyson on his head: The new order changeth, yielding place to old. That happens when the old order is not only stronger but better. The wonder is how this magnificent reassertion of good sense implicit in our enough-is-enough policy was accomplished without much of a struggle.

Pushed out or abandoned, a quarter-million children and adolescents every year are effectively left with no parent but the street: abandoned buildings, video arcades and subway cars.

Visible as the problem of "homeless youth" has become, it is neither a new nor a simple one.

In 1930, the Traveler's Aid Society reported servicing 22,367 "children under 16 traveling alone" in just 32 sample cities; in 1932, The Ladies Home Journal, reporting on the scholarly work of the United States Children's Bureau, published an article titled, simply, "200,000 Vagabond Children." The conclusion of a 1980 Senate report that between 240,000 and 500,000 children and adolescents become homeless each year only confirmed the persistence of a deep-seated social tumor.

Yet for all the prominence and stubbornness of the "homeless youth" problem, its origins remain elusive. It is easy to engage in informed speculation. In 1982, there were nearly two million youths between the ages of 16 and 19 who were not in school and were out of work. An article that was written by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan has instructed us, moreover, that before their 18th birthday, one-quarter of all American children born in 1965 will have lived in a one-parent household that receives welfare; for those born in 1979, the figure climbs to one-third. The "real" (after-inflation) income of American families has declined by more than 8 percent since 1979; during the last decade, the number of persons living in poor families has grown by 35 percent.

Even within middle-class families, powerful economic forces may help

Rescuing Homeless Children

By Bruce Ritter

push children onto the street. According to the Department of Agriculture, the cost of providing food, clothing and housing in the Northeast to a 16-year-old is 31 percent higher in "real" dollars than the same costs for a 6-year-old. Thus, parents grappling with their children's entry to adolescence must face, in addition, insidious economic strain; with their "real" income stagnant or in decline, that strain can all too seriously increase the risk of a collapse in parental relations.

However, economic factors are less important in creating homelessness than others that are less measurable. Traditional outside supports for the family — most important, extended family and long-term neighborhood relationships — have severely eroded as Americans have become more and more transient.

Between 1975 and 1980, more than 45 percent of Americans changed their residence. Extraordinary divorce rates are undoubtedly both a cause and a reflection of crumbling social integration. For a teenager ordered out of the house by a parent, there may be no option but the street: He doesn't know his neighbors, and even his other parent may be far out of reach.

All this may begin to explain how a child can become homeless. Still, our knowledge is as imperfect in this re-

gard as it is in explaining the apparent rise in child abuse and adolescent suicide. The family — most particularly in its child-rearing aspects — is a stubbornly mysterious institution. But one fact does seem clear: The plight of homeless youth is inextricably tied to the disintegration of their families.

Until we look at each homeless youth as part of a broken family, we have little hope of seriously addressing his needs. Emergency shelter and care for these children are, as a matter of common sense, the first priority. Any long-range program to help them, however, must concentrate on preventing and repairing the damage to their families. Those of us who work with homeless children often speak glibly of their need for "independent living" — a place to live and a job. In the end, though, we will have to meet a deeper need — for the human ties that only families and communities can provide.

We have become used to hearing "homelessness" argued as a question of "human rights" in our society. But it is now time for the torch to pass to those in the social services community, so that we may face the harsh demands of developing programmatic and structural responses to what at times seems an impossibly difficult problem.

A commitment to keeping children safe from a life on the sidewalk will involve many components: from tax relief for families with children, and welfare reform to promote family unity, to an intensive assault on youth unemployment accompanied by programs designed to reintegrate homeless youths into their family and communities.

It is a task beyond the scope of any single governmental initiative. Rather, it calls for sweeping public and private commitment to the nurture and protection of the American family. The street is a brutal parent.

After a Slow Beginning, A Rousing Conclusion

By VINCENT CANBY

The year 1983 was not exactly a vintage year for films, but now, at the end, it looks to have been a lot better than it promised to be during the spring and summer. At that point it appeared quite possible that the makers of plastic monsters and directors-as-puppeteers had taken command of the commercial film industry. The prospect was scary without being to the least bit exciting, like second-rate horror films.

Some of the most popular if not exactly most compelling performances of 1983 were given not by actors but by the special effects men who made Superman fly and by mechanized dolls — the tired old white shark in "Jaws 3-D" and George Lucas's stock company of disguised teddy bears in "Return of the Jedi." Live-action actors who can act, it seemed, might soon be obsolete.

Then, too, there was the matter of helicopters. I suspect that at this minute there are people on campuses all over the country writing learned theses on the aesthetic impact on movies of helicopters, both as ends in themselves and as means to ends. Ends in themselves? Helicopters are the leading characters in John Badham's "Blue Thunder" and play supporting roles in the same director's "WarGames."

Even more tiresome, though, is the evolution of the helicopter as a screen technique or tool — some would say crutch — as freely overused by today's filmmakers as jump-cuts, zooms and freeze frames. I have the impression that at least 70 percent of today's films wouldn't ever get off the ground if the directors had been denied those introductory helicopter shots that drop us gently and boringly into the movie's locale.

Clint Eastwood's "Sudden Impact" is a onstop demonstration of an adage that must be stitched on every sampler in Hollywood: When in doubt, call in the helicopters. Almost every other sequence either starts with the camera descending onto the scene in a helicopter or sailing off, heavenward, by means of a chopper. I can't prove it, but I doubt that the late, great Luis Bunuel — one of this year's major collections by the Grim Reaper — ever made use of a helicopter. If he did, it must have been done so unobtrusively that I can't remember it. Bunuel's masterpieces are shot mostly at eye level, which, though it doesn't deny the existence of God, doesn't call on Him to correct the inadequacies of the director, the writer and the other partners in the film's creation.

However, even if the year produced only two films that I think stand a chance of becoming classics, there were finally so many films of far above average quality that the making up of a 10-best list was especially difficult and — let's face it — in some instances absolutely arbitrary. One can always supplement a 10-best list by appending the list of the 10 runners-up, but even these 20 titles don't hint at the variety and the sometimes unexpected excitement of this year's releases.

Four of this year's most important events were, in effect, reprises: the rerelease of Alfred Hitchcock's incomparably elegant "Rear Window," featuring what must be the quintessential James Stewart performance and one by Grace Kelly that forever captures her idealized beauty and wit; the rerelease of Luchino Visconti's "Leopard," which demonstrates, among other things, that the young Burt Lancaster's talents were really no less than those of the older man we have applauded in "Atlantic City" and "Local Hero"; the Regency Theater's retrospective devoted to the comic genius of Preston Sturges, and, finally, a film that isn't, to be perfectly correct, a theatrical film.

This is Thames Television's "Unknown Chaplin," three 52-minute television programs, produced by Kevin Brownlow and David Gill with the cooperation of Charlie Chaplin's widow, Oona, which was not shown in a theater or even on TV, but at the Museum of Broadcasting. The three programs are a rare and wonderful collection of outtakes from Chaplin films that show us — in a manner I've never seen before — how a master filmmaker and comedian worked. Nothing else quite like it exists.

A certain amount of reevaluation must go into the compilation of any 10-best list, and this year it has proved to be a bit embarrassing in at least one case, that of John Landis's "Trading Places." Here's a movie that I liked so much when I saw it that caution was tossed into the air-conditioning system. I described it as nothing less than "the funniest American movie comedy of the year to date." Now it doesn't even place in the top 20. The fact is that I don't like it any less now, but, for one reason and another, I like 20 other films more.

There are a number of other films that deserve such special mention, everything from Peter Greenaway's whimsical, three-hour avant-garde epic, "Falls," to James L. Brooks's "Terms of Endearment," a commercial film if there ever was one. Also: the Sidney Lumet-E.L. Doctorow production, "Daniel," which was provocative, extremely well acted and very, very serious; "The Dresser," with its two great star-returns by Albert Finney and Tom Courtenay; Blake Edwards's remake of François Truffaut's "Man Who Loved Women," mostly for Burt Reynolds's unexpectedly fine performance; the just-opened "Reuben, Reuben," in which Tom Conti stars as one of Peter DeVries's most hapless heroes; Peter Weir's "Year of Living Dangerously," with its memorable performance by Linda Hunt, and John Sayles's two entries, "Liaison" and "Baby, It's You."

Here, then, is the list of the 10 best films of 1983, in alphabetical order:

"Berlin Alexanderplatz." This monumental (15½-hour), made-for-television mini-series stands to become a theatrical film classic, even if its theatrical showings have to be limited. "Berlin Alexanderplatz" is a fitting coda to the brilliant career of Rainer Werner Fassbinder. This adaptation of Alfred Döblin's classic novel embraces much of everything Fassbinder had done before, with its mixtures of visual styles, its bitter, ironic view of society, and its display of the talents of the members of the Fassbinder "stock" company, including Hanna Schygulla, Elisabeth Trissenaar, Barbara Sukowa, and Brigitte Mira. At the center of the film are the great performances by two actors not previously identified with the director — Gunter Lamprecht and Gottfried John.

"Betrayal." Even if one had never seen a Harold Pinter play on the stage, one could, I think, get some real measure of his particular theatrical talent by watching this most moving and funny film, adapted by Mr. Pinter from his own play and directed by David Jones in a way that finds cinematic equivalents to the stage experience. The performances by Ben Kingsley, Patricia Hodge and Jeremy Irons, as the lovers whose story we watch from the end to the beginning, are among the best of this or any year.

"The Big Chill." Lawrence Kasdan, the screenwriter ("Star Wars," among other scripts) demonstrated he was also a first-rate director with "Body Heat." "The Big Chill," about the reunion of seven activists of the 1960's, turned Establishment-slothful in the 1980's, confirms the promise of "Body Heat." Arguments that he has just made a more commercial version of John Sayles's "Return of the Secaucus Seven" do not take into account the

THE YEAR'S BEST Film

Bonnie Bedelia, right, starred in "Heart Like a Wheel"—a reminder "of the potential delights of what used to be described as B-pictures."

The 15½-hour "Berlin Alexanderplatz," with Hanna Schygulla, was a fitting coda to R.W. Fassbinder's career.



Above, Patricia Hodge and Jeremy Irons in "Betrayal"—"moving and funny".

differing nature of the two films. "The Big Chill" is a big, intelligent commercial comedy — Hollywood movie-making at its best. It also has splendid performances by Tom Berenger, Glenn Close, Jeff Goldblum, William Hurt, Kevin Kline, Mary Kay Place, Meg Tilly and JoBeth Williams.

"Fanny and Alexander." Here is yet another chef d'oeuvre by one of the three or four greatest filmmakers alive today, Ingmar Bergman. "Fanny and Alexander," a family chronicle, is Bergman at the top of a form that is humane, comic, fantastic, mystical and not easily imitated, even by filmmakers who hire Bergman's favorite cameraman, Sven Nykvist, to give them a "Bergman look." The huge cast is impeccable, including the late Gunn Wallgren, who plays the matriarch of a wealthy theatrical family in Uppsala at the beginning of this century; Erland Josephson, Ewa Fröling, Jan Malmström, Pernilla Wallgren and Harriet Andersson.

"Heart Like a Wheel." Once every couple of years a movie comes along that reminds us of the potential delights of what used to be described as B-pictures. Jonathan Kaplan's "Heart Like a Wheel," based on the real-life story of a woman race-car driver, Shirley "Cha-Cha" Muldowney, is such a film. Like many B-pictures, "Heart Like a Wheel" is about what people do as much as it's about what they think and feel. Because Shirley, who is beautifully played by Bonnie Bedelia, spends much of her time on the track, action is built into the movie through the nature of her career. The film is also about lower-middle-class America, what it looks like and what it feels like to be on the inside of it, looking up. Mr. Kaplan ("White Line Fever" and "Over the Edge") is a comer.

"The King of Comedy." With this funny, very chilly satire of America's infatuation with celebrity, any kind of celebrity, the director Martin Scorsese confirms his reputation as one of the most authentic, most original voices of his film generation. Starring in Paul D. Zimmerman's fine, original screenplay, is Robert De Niro, giving his sometimes frighteningly comic all as Rupert Pupkin, a nobody who wants more than anything else to be a somebody like Johnny Carson, if Johnny Carson looked like Jerry Lewis, who is also splendid in the movie. An excellent comedienne, new to films, Sandra Bernhard, matches Mr. De Niro's inspired craziness.

"Local Hero." Bill Forsyth, the Scottish filmmaker who knocked us over with "Gregory's Girl," continues to demonstrate his most original, oddball comedy talents with "Local Hero." It's about an impossibly powerful American oil man, played with loving understatement by Burt Lancaster, and what happens when he decides to buy an impoverished Scottish village. The cast of mostly British actors is superb, but I remember most clearly Denis Lawson, as an innkeeper; Jenny Seagrove, who plays a mermaid; and Peter Riegert, an American actor, who plays Mr. Lancaster's factotum, an achiever with the soul of a poet.

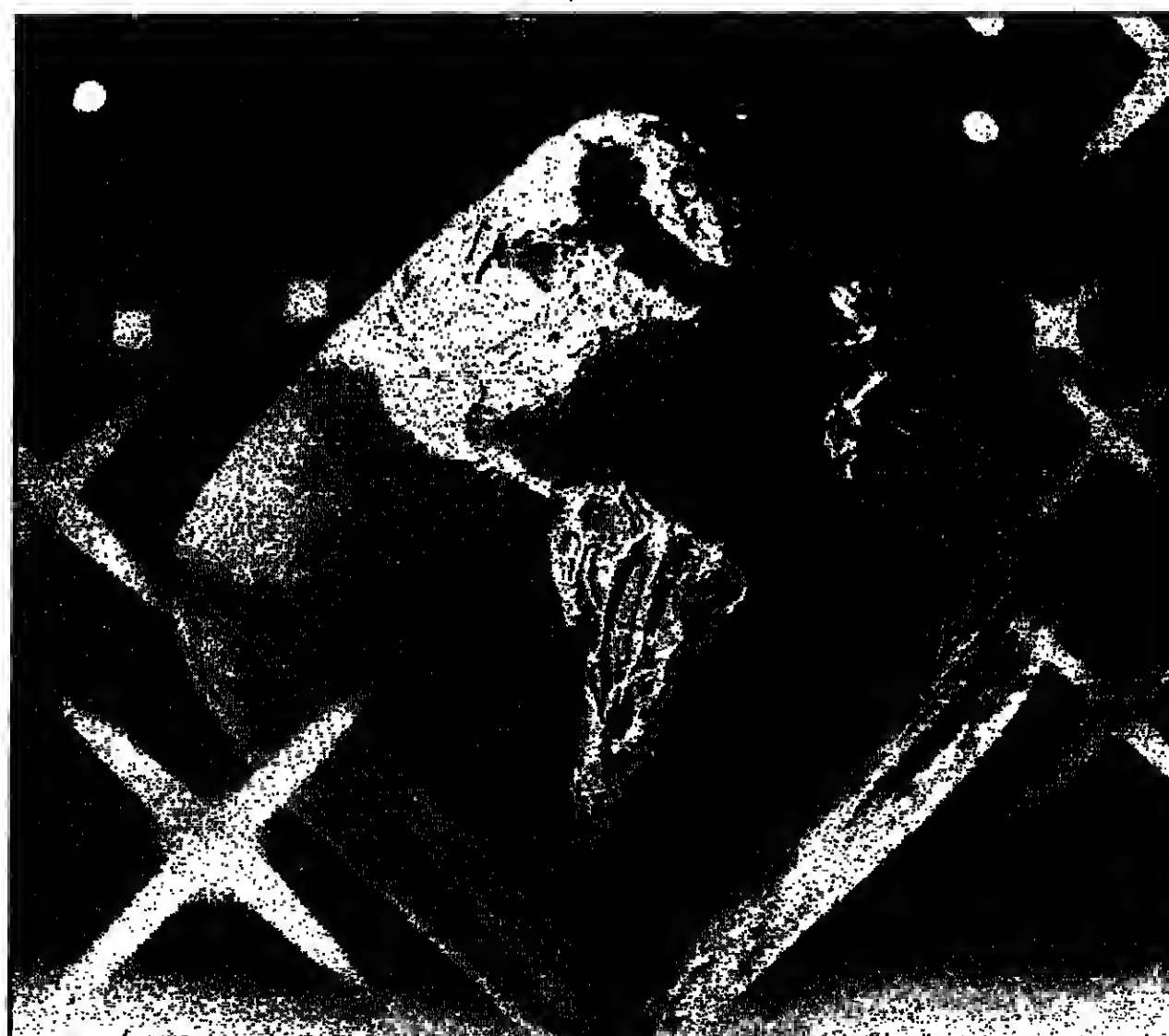
"The Right Stuff." The writer-director Philip Kaufman does right by Tom Wolfe's best-selling, fondly satirical book about the making of America's Mercury astronauts. It's rousing and funny and played with enormous wit and energy by Sam Shepard, Ed Harris, Scott Glenn, Fred Ward, Veronica Cartwright and Pamela Reed, among others. Though the satire sometimes gets so fuzzy you can't be entirely sure just what is being satirized, the movie is unusually perceptive about the American scene and the sometimes out-of-control motives that lead to greatness, that is, to the discovery of the right stuff.

"Tender Mercies." Bruce Beresford, the Australian director ("Breaker Morant"), Horton Foote, the playwright and screenwriter ("To Kill a Mockingbird") and the star, Robert Duvall, combine their talents to create that very rare sort of American movie, one that is sweet without being sentimental. "Tender Mercies" is the story of the rehabilitation of a down-and-out country-and-western singer, played by Mr. Duvall, through the love of a good woman and his own innate guts. It's melodramatic and funny, and it introduces American audiences to a lovely new actress named Tess Harper, who plays the widow-lady Mr. Duvall courts and wins in monosyllables. If you haven't seen it yet, don't miss it when it comes back.

"Zelig." It's been said before and it will be said again — that is, by me — that Woody Allen is America's premier filmmaker, and "Zelig" is his small, short, unassuming, major triumph. It's a classic — "Citizen Kane" reduced to 87 minutes of great good humor, wit,

wisdom and dazzling technical effects. Though it's set in the 1920's and 1930's, Zelig (Mr. Allen) is the perfect hero for the well-analyzed 80's, a man with no identity whatsoever that he can call his own. "Zelig," more than any other Woody Allen film, is a series of nonstop highlights

which would include individual gags, scenes and performances, by Mr. Allen as well as Mia Farrow, Ellen Garrison and such real-life types as Susan Sontag, Irving Howe, Bruno Bettelheim, Bricktop and Prof. John Morton-Bland. I smile just thinking about it.



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HLA AND OTHER JIGSAWS

By MARGERY GREENFELD / Jerusalem Post Reporter



Walter Bodmer... 'One of the most exciting periods ever.'

ICAL RESEARCH is like a jigsaw puzzle with countless pieces, an eminent scientist told me. Years of tests, painstakingly repeated to verify results, yield one piece; work by a colleague in another country may add to it. That work, in turn, leads to new avenues of research and the addition of several more pieces. And so it goes, as the picture slowly emerges.

One of the major contributors to immunological jigsaw puzzle has been Prof. Walter Bodmer, the director of research at the Imperial Cancer Research Fund laboratories in London. Bodmer's pioneering work on the system of tissue typing, called HLA (human leukocyte antigen system), earned him the 1983 Shal Shacknai Memorial for outstanding work in the field of immunology. The prize is awarded annually by the Berg Centre for General and Immunology at the Hebrew University-Hadassah School of Medicine.

Tissue typing and matching are vital steps in bone-marrow transplants, which have been used with increasing success to treat such diseases as leukemia and certain types of anemia.

One goal of tissue typing for marrow transplants is to find as precisely as possible genetic characteristics of certain cells in the blood — and match up the recipient with one whose genetic markers closely mirror his own.

Bodmer explains: "Leukemias and lymphomas are cancers of the white cells. Bone-marrow grafts are really transplants of normal bone marrow, producing white cells, to replace the patient's own malfunctioning marrow, which is wildly producing white cells.

Chemotherapy completely knocks out all of a patient's white cells, which are es-

pecially sensitive to such treatments. But having done that, then of course you've got to replace them, because otherwise the patient won't survive." Without white cells to produce antibodies, he points out, the patient is defenceless against all manner of infections.

"Now," he smiles, "if you can give them normal bone marrow from somebody else, then obviously you can cure their disease. But — and here's the catch — you can only do that if the bone marrow is matched for certain genetic markers. So HLA matching is essential for the success of bone marrow transplants."

A bone-marrow donor is almost always a member of the recipient's immediate family, because tissue types are controlled by genes that are all "clustered together on one little part of one chromosome." This very specific genetic arrangement is a hereditary trait, and the chances of finding an identical matching pair of siblings are one in four.

The chances of matching up two people with no family ties are "very small indeed, because the system varies so much it's almost like a fingerprint."

Studying these genetic fingerprints has led Prof. Bodmer and his colleagues further and further into the mysteries of some of the most basic components of human existence — into the "structure and products of genes, going all the way down to the DNA itself." DNA, or deoxyribonucleic acid, is present in the chromosomes in the nuclei of cells and is the carrier of genetic information for almost all organisms.

WHICH BRINGS US to recent worldwide advances in genetic engineering — and the infinite possibilities opened up by new techni-

ques of cloning. Cloning antibodies, or the ability to reproduce exact copies of single antibodies in virtually limitless quantities, is a technique discovered in 1975 by Prof. Cesar Milstein of London, the recipient of last year's Shacknai Prize.

These monoclonal antibodies are created by fusing one very specific antibody with a fast-growing carrier cell that reproduces itself indefinitely. The end result is akin to a small cellular factory, turning out limitless amounts of "one exquisite-

ly pure and specific antibody."

With the advent of monoclonal antibodies, exciting new avenues of research have opened up. Several applications of the technique are already in use in medical testing and diagnostic work.

Monoclonal antibodies have proven to be an important tool in Prof. Bodmer's HLA research, "because their specificity and potency have allowed us to sort out the different parts of the system with much greater precision than

we could before."

The surface of the cell is where the tissue types lie, says Bodmer, "but it's exceedingly difficult to separate a cell. You can use biochemical techniques and mash it up and then take out the various components. This is less than satisfactory, since some of the components may be there only in very small amounts or be hard to identify."

But if you leave the cell whole and then make monoclonal antibodies that are specific to single components, you can characterize and isolate its parts for further study, he explains.

This specificity is very important in cancer research, since cancer arises from virtually any tissue in the body and even cancers connected with a single site, like breast cancer, may in fact represent different forms of the disease.

"It's very important, just to start with, to classify the disease and to know exactly what it is you're dealing with. This will dictate how you deal with the disease; different forms of cancer will behave, and will need to be treated, in different ways."

DIAGNOSTIC techniques using monoclonal antibodies are being developed to take the place of the traditional dyes and stains used to identify cancerous cells in biopsies.

Pathologists who examine stained slides have developed "enormous, almost artistic, skills in recognizing different sorts of cells. But the monoclonal antibody puts all that on a much more precise level. By attaching a label, you can now see exactly where on a tissue section a particular antibody has gone. Since the antibody is specific to a particular substance, you can find out precisely which cells on a tissue section are making that substance, and

this tells you where the tumor cells are."

Another technique already being used is radioactive tagging of monoclonal antibodies. Tagged antibodies are injected into the patient and then located inside the body by means of a gamma camera, a sort of reverse X-ray in which the rays emanate from inside the body rather than from outside it.

This can be done with relatively small amounts of antibody and is considered a non-invasive procedure, since it involves only tiny amounts of radiation, Bodmer points out.

OTHER CURRENT applications include producing large amounts of extremely pure reagents for medical tests, such as the pregnancy test. Researchers are also producing difficult-to-purify compounds, such as the virus-fighting interferon, in larger quantities than was hitherto possible.

But nowhere has the monoclonal antibody revolution generated more excitement than in the field of research into its potential uses as a highly specific drug-delivery system that would go straight to the source of the disease. The idea is that the antibodies would act as tiny "homologous devices," carrying medications to the diseased cells and bypassing the healthy ones.

Such a homing device would allow doctors to use highly toxic substances which would knock out only the specifically targeted cells, and not the entire system, says Bodmer.

"The common way to treat rheumatoid arthritis — an autoimmune disease — is to give steroids, because they suppress inflammation. Since they also suppress the immune response, it's also a way of trying to ameliorate this response. But steroids are usually given when it's a bit late, because

the response has already been established. Moreover, the suppression is non-specific and can throw the whole immune system out of kilter."

The same problem arises in current methods of treating cancer.

"The main problem at the moment is that the sorts of drugs that are used are damaging to normal tissue. In some cases, you can quite dramatically cure, because you can just manage not to kill off all the normal tissue while killing off all the tumor."

But this is a delicate balance, Bodmer points out. "Clearly, what is needed is treatment that is much more specific for the tumor, while not disturbing the normal cells."

BODMER NOTES that such an approach, using a highly toxic substance made by plants, has been used successfully on experimental animals. But he cautions that the process is infinitely more complicated in humans and that much work remains to be done before the technique can be applied to human beings.

Technical problems must be solved. "Does the antibody really get to the specific target, is it stable, does enough of it get there, what's the sensitivity? All of these questions have to be evaluated thoroughly."

But the 47-year-old professor firmly believes that the answers to these questions — and a host of equally knotty ones — are attainable.

"This is one of the most exciting parts of science and medical research. Monoclonal antibodies, genetic engineering, the manipulation of cells and chromosomes are all making it possible to do things and find out things that one just imagined before. One's dreams are now becoming a realistic possibility."

"You can't say that we'll find a cure tomorrow, or in 10 years, or even in 20 years. But we certainly will find a cure, and it will be because of these new developments. There's no doubt about it."

ONE MAN'S MISSION

By MARSHA POMERANTZ / Jerusalem Post Reporter

"beds" in an in-patient programme — though the orientation of Summit seems to be to keep everyone out of bed and as active as possible.

The Labour and Social Affairs Ministry subsidizes the rehabilitation programme, which serves about 40 students, who live in half-way houses or with foster families and receive outpatient therapy. And the Defence Ministry refers soldiers to Summit.

The total enrolment at Summit is now about 100, and two new divisions have sprouted: a collegiate programme for Americans with learning disabilities, run in cooperation with Touro College in New York, and a pre-adolescent unit to work with 11- to 14-year-olds who aren't accommodated in other existing programmes.

The various units are spread around town in buildings and flats rented with difficulty from sceptical landlords, and at great expense.

Summit is a hard piano to play, but Zvi Stiskin seemed to have the combination of administrative foresight and professional understanding to plunk the right keys at the right time.

It was Stiskin's principle of autonomy that made things so difficult to administer, says Yair Caspi,

a former counsellor and now the director of development. Each student has the key to his own room, and each division director has a high degree of independence, which increases motivation — and complication.

Decisions are made with extensive staff consultations and in dealing with the ministries, Schneider says, "Zvi knew when to push and when to let off."

Then came the financial crunch last October, and Summit, like other institutions, was caught between the momentum of development and the slackening economy. Not that they hadn't had financial problems all along, but this time, "you feel the whole country is closing in on you," says Schneider.

In the four or five weeks before his death, Stiskin was plagued by reports of hospitals running out of food, and by Summit's own deficit of "millions of shekels" a month, according to Schneider.

Says David Schoenbrun, the financial director: "I have to wait until February to be compensated for price rises we pay out now."

Schneider adds: "We have to pay salaries by the 10th of the month, but the ministries pay their subsidies only on the 20th. We take

overdrafts, but now the banks are trying to halve the credit period and increase the interest."

And, of course, rents remain dollar-linked, while funding has lost 30 to 40 per cent of its dollar value.

Caspi has the job of hunting up potential contributors, but notes that they generally don't like to have their names on psychiatric buildings. Though Summit has gained professional respect in its field, Caspi has not yet been able to find a public figure to head a Friends organization which could increase support.

Some contributions have been coming in, but not smoothly: A public foundation pledged \$25,000 a year ago towards a new unit for job rehabilitation, and space was to be rented from the Jerusalem Economic Corporation, which encourages the development of industry in the capital. Just before the lease was signed last October, Summit got an apologetic phone call from the donor. The public foundation's investments were in bank shares, and their value had dropped by half.

The question is how long Summit can continue without impairing the quality of its services: "The act of courage may be to close within the next six months," says Mayer Stiskin. But it's not a decision to take lightly "after what Zvi went through for 10 years."

Mayer had his own problems with the New York branch in 1975, when increased state aid never came through. They filed suit on the basis of the law requiring the state to educate its children — and while the case was fought in court for three years, they had to cut salaries and fire staff to survive.

"I've learned the hard way that



Zvi Stiskin... administrative foresight and professional understanding

that's not the way to run things," says Mayer Stiskin. "There's no *deus ex machina* to save the day."

And no Zvi Stiskin, Schneider will go on as clinical director and

Schoenbrun as financial director. The day-to-day function, for now, continues. But those who remain feel short on vision, navigating skill, and well-placed laughter.

you think times are tough, consider the less fortunate around you.



Fourth annual Forsake Me Not — to maintain and improve services for the aged. Budgetary cuts and difficult economic situation have put these services in dire jeopardy. Use, contribute.

Writing offices:

Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Post Building, Romema Industrial Zone; Tel Aviv: 11 Carlebach St.; Haifa: 16 Nordau St.; Hadera: Or send by mail directly to The Jerusalem Post, B. 81, Jerusalem 91000.

The 4th Annual

"FORSAKE ME NOT"

Fund

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underground
at 7.5%

Bonds join banks, oils in upsurge

A triple-headed upsurge developed yesterday, as oil shares advanced sharply, followed by bonds and bank shares. The gains reflected gains in the Treasury bond market, which was up 10 1/2 percent in the last session. The gains in the Treasury bond market were the result of a sharp decline in the price of oil, which fell 10 1/2 percent in the last session. The gains in the Treasury bond market were the result of a sharp decline in the price of oil, which fell 10 1/2 percent in the last session.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

Non-banking equities continued to ease, but there was a relief in the selling pressures that have been felt over the past few sessions. The General Share Index, commercial bank shares 49 percent, was down by 0.49 percent. Sharply losing issues outnumbered substantial gainers by a margin of 7:5.

Bank of America gets over \$400m. on Iranian loans

WASHINGTON (AP). — The Bank of America has received more than \$400 million on unsettled loans to Iran made before the taking of American hostages more than four years ago, the U.S. government has announced.

underground economy estimated at 7.5% of GNP

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — A U.S. Congressional study estimates the so-called underground economy that eludes Federal income taxation at about \$222.75 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Commercial Banks

Bank	Change	% Change
Bank of America	1.00	+0.1
Bank of Israel	1.00	+0.1
Bank Leumi	1.00	+0.1
Bank Mizrahi	1.00	+0.1
Bank Parali	1.00	+0.1
Bank Sepir	1.00	+0.1
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CURRENCY BASKET PURCHASE SALE

FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATES FOR 26.12.83

CHEQUES AND BANKNOTES PURCHASE SALE

ENTRY CURRENCY PURCHASE SALE PURCHASE SALE

UNITED MIZRAHI BANK

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Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing DirectorTHE JERUSALEM
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Editor

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Tel Aviv 21, 5744 • Rabbi Awwal 21, 1404

So what's the policy?

THE TREASURY has in effect denied the claim by Deputy Premier David Levy that he had reached a "complete understanding" with Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad that real wages would be kept intact next year. The word from the Treasury is that the finance minister remains determined to get wages eroded as part of the policy of improving the country's balance of payments.

This should dispose of Mr. Levy's strange claim, made at a meeting with members of the Herut faction in the Histadrut on Monday.

Yet it is not difficult to see what prompted Mr. Levy to deliver such glad tidings to his audience. While talking of a 10-12 per cent wage erosion, Mr. Cohen-Orgad has in fact taken a bite from wages that is several times larger, and all within one quarter of this year. The advance paid this week has done rather less than enough to help workers retrieve their losses.

Moreover, those affected include a large number of the same labouring group that brought the Likud to power and has kept it there.

The cries of anguish and anger he heard on Sunday from those he used to represent in his Histadrut days did not fail to leave their impact on Mr. Levy. He could not bring himself to defend the actual policy adopted by Mr. Cohen-Orgad, who was accused at the meeting of being an Alignment agent, no less, seeking to alienate the workers from their Likud leaders.

Instead the deputy premier concocted a fanciful story that the finance minister would ditch the very recessionist tactics he has time and again described as economically unavoidable.

The logic of the purported deal struck between the two ministers was not clarified. Surely if the incomes of wage-earners — who, as the finance minister has been pointing out, constitute the bulk of the citizenry — are left untouched, then the least the government must do is to implement massive cuts in public spending, even if these cause added unemployment. But the prospects for such cuts are at the moment very slim, and in any case Mr. Levy is against unemployment.

What is left then for the government's economy policy is to find succour from the outside — namely U.S. economic aid, to pay for the past few years of economic mismanagement, and to avoid the radical repairs that are now necessary.

This would save the country a great deal of trouble in setting its own house in order, and would be a more comfortable path for the Likud to take in advance of the next elections.

Moda'i soap opera

ONE THING is clear about the vehement antipathy developed by Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i for the chairman of the board of the Electric Corporation, David Haguel: if there are any truly substantive reasons for it, they have been ignored by the cabinet to which the minister brought his demand for the chairman's ouster.

It was Mr. Moda'i himself who, some two years ago, arranged for Mr. Haguel, who had formerly been director-general of the ministry, to be appointed board chairman. Before bringing the issue to the cabinet last week, Mr. Moda'i claimed that he had enjoyed good personal relations with Mr. Haguel, and that the two of them had been politically compatible, too, since Mr. Haguel was a member of Mr. Moda'i's faction in the Liberal Party.

Unfortunately, said Mr. Moda'i, Mr. Haguel had been approving intolerably large pay increases and "perks" for employees of the corporation.

On Sunday, however, when pressed by his cabinet colleagues to account for his desire to get rid of the board chairman, the furious minister, who has overall responsibility for the Electric Corporation, could marshal no better argument than that it was "all a matter of misunderstanding. We just misunderstand one another."

Now if the issue at hand were improper pay increases to employees, then it should have been thrashed out by the cabinet with a view to setting policy guidelines. If, on the other hand, it was all a matter of "misunderstanding," then the cabinet should have promptly invited the board to take its own decision — especially since this is, in the present case, the proper procedure, in the learned view of Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir.

The cabinet pursued neither course. It held a discussion of Mr. Moda'i's personal dislikes. The trivialization of cabinet debate could hardly go farther than that.

Mr. Haguel's resignation yesterday has apparently spared the cabinet of a repeat performance next Sunday.

POSTSCRIPTS

PS A REMEDY to world problems has been proposed by the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Menachem Mendel Schneerson, at a gathering at his Brooklyn headquarters. The Rebbe urges his followers to add two verses to their morning prayers: "I hereby take upon myself to observe the positive commandment of 'And You Shall Love Thy Neighbour as Thyself,' and 'Only the righteous will praise you, only the upright will sing your praises...'" The two verses already exist in certain prayerbooks, but the Rebbe suggests that they be added to all versions of the morning prayers. In view of the serious situation in the world, he says, the prayers can bring the Messiah.

J.S.I.

PS FOLLOWING complaints by tourists from Connecticut and from California, the Religious Affairs Ministry has banned a certain photographer from working in the Western Wall area. The ministry also reports that it is making a major effort to remove beggars from the area.

H.S.

PS NO MATTER how diligent, loving or attractive she may be, one may not pay more than \$600 for a wife in the Solomon Islands.

The government of Temotu province in the former British Pacific colony passed legislation recently setting a maximum price for a bride at the equivalent of \$600.

Anyone paying more than that in the province faces a hearing before the council of chiefs and three months in jail, or a fine of up to \$90, officials said.

The action was taken because local officials feared inflation in the price of brides similar to what has taken place in Papua New Guinea, where a wife averages around \$3,000. One Papua New Guinea man reportedly paid \$18,000 for a wife recently.

Solomon Islanders say a wife can still be had for under \$300 in more remote areas of the country.

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FOR SOME TIME I have been warning against the fashion of being anti-American, which seems to be spreading among some of my political colleagues, especially those further to the left. This fashion has spread due to the nature of the American administration, and especially because of its apparent policy of seeking a long-term Israeli presence in South Lebanon and continued active intervention in the quagmire of Lebanon.

Some anti-Americanism is influenced, at least indirectly, by the mood of West European leftists, such as the Greens, in whose attitudes and conduct one may discern certain fascist seeds.

Needless to say, the Israeli situation vis-à-vis the U.S. is very different from that of states like West Germany or Italy. We do not face the problem of having to host American nuclear weapons on our soil or to coordinate sales of strategic goods to the USSR.

On the other hand, we are much more dependent militarily, diplomatically and economically on the U.S. Thus, we must be wary of becoming infected by modes that have no relevance to our own situation.

In several respects, the Alignment is in a bewildering situation

A RECENT Letter to the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* came from a Palestinian who talked about how Israelis should approach the problem of the territories. While I do not doubt the writer's sincerity, he revealed, as many other Palestinians have, a blindness caused by Arah and general misinformation about the "Palestinian problem" — about the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just claim to sovereignty over the territory of the West Bank and Gaza Strip."

The letter writer, a Mr. O. Hallik, very rightly urges "the abandonment of extreme and radical ideologies which reject compromise." But he does not seem to notice that his position is also extreme, in which all rights belong to the Arabs and not to the Jews. Admittedly, the assertion that he is prepared to live peacefully, side by side, with the Israelis and accept their right to exist is a substantial move away from total rejection but hardly enough in the complex circumstances of the area.

He does not accept any Jewish rights whatsoever to the territories. For him, as for so many others, historical rights do not count (especially if they do not favour their views): "History is history, it belongs to the past and has not

MANNER OF SPEAKING

By SHEVAH WEISS

with regard to the U.S. Labour, when it was in power, first established and nurtured the very special relationship with the U.S. and today the leaders of the Labour Party still have closer personal ties there at all levels — with Jews, gentiles, the administration and the media in the U.S. — than do the leaders of the Likud.

But the Alignment is highly critical of certain aspects of the relationship that has evolved between the Reagan administration and the new Likud government.

Lebanon is only one of the issues involved. Another concern is the fact that the Reagan administration in no way uses its leverage (especially its massive economic aid) over the Israeli government to stop or slow down Jewish settlement in

Judea and Samaria, even though it constantly expresses its opposition to such settlement.

There are those who fear that Israel is slowly being maneuvered into becoming a servant of American interests in the Middle East, including Cold War interests that are really none of Israel's direct concern, and are possibly even contrary to Israel's interests, which many of us believe to include some rapprochement with the USSR.

The Alignment, however, is far from being anti-American, and it is certainly not against American-Israeli cooperation. It was, after all, the Alignment that favoured a positive, if reserved, response to the Reagan Plan. I am sure that most of my Labour

colleagues would agree that if the American president lights Hanukkah candles in Washington and declares that if Israel is ousted from the UN, the U.S. would leave, then the least Israel can do is take American interests into account, even if they do not correspond absolutely to its own.

BUT LABOUR is opposed to the close ties that are leading Israel in a direction that is contrary to its own basic interests; that closes options and compromises its independence and sovereignty.

Israel must, however, be wary of even appearing to be anti-American and against cooperation. This is true not only because the U.S. really is Israel's only ally today, but also because such an attitude could be interpreted by many Israelis as constituting opposition to the state rather than opposition to a government policy. Such an interpretation was encouraged in many other contexts by Menachem Begin, Ariel Sharon and others, but such thinking has also been encouraged by injudicious acts and statements by individual Labour leaders.

Much of the problem really concerns semantics. One can say the same thing with an anti-American slant or with a pro-Israeli one. One

can, for example, say Americans are provoking clash with the Soviet Union, or one can say "Israel should avoid a clash with the Soviet Union, even in case it is contrary to its interests." One can say: "Israel has become an American lackey, its growing dependence," or one can say: "It is in Israel's interest to decrease its dependence on external forces."

Semantics have their momentum and dynamic, may become caught up in American syndrome, in ourselves and contrary to our interests.

Criticism of "the guy brought back from Washington Prime Minister Yitzhak Shimon Peres" based on antagonism toward U.S. or lack of appreciation for generous assistance, but of questions that remain unanswered and the suspicion of what was achieved in Washington was little more than P.R. victory, whose long-term is, as yet, unknown.

The writer is a Labour Party member of political science University

Recognizing Jewish rights

By PAUL LAX

much to do with present problems. The land belongs to those who till it and who live on it," etc. I do not disagree with this position entirely, especially where bona fide private possession of land is concerned. This is and must remain the inviolable right of the individual.

With respect to sovereign rights, however, the position is somewhat different in the case of the Jews, this being a *sui generis* case. The formula that "the land belongs to the people who till it" applies fairly generally, because practically everywhere conquerors and conquered merged; the peoples of the old and middle ages (like Goths, Franks, etc.) do not exist anymore corporately and not even individually. Not so the Jews.

They preferred 2,000 years of exile and persecution to forgetting

their ancient home. This unprecedented love of the homeland sustained the Jewish people, brought pilgrims and immigrants to the country and culminated 100 years ago in the first Zionist settlements and political Zionism. This intimate connection with the ancient homeland, coupled with the homelessness of the Jewish people gave legitimacy to the Zionist movement and its goal: the Jewish state. The same legitimacy applies to every part of the homeland.

ANY DENIAL of such legitimacy to any part of the homeland logically includes the denial to any other part of the homeland. This does not preclude, however, any voluntary change in exercising sovereign rights, for practical purposes, in certain parts of the country. As a mat-

ter of fact, this happened a few times in the history of Zionism. In 1922, the British Mandatory Power suspended the provisions of the mandate in Eastern Palestine. An inexperienced and frightened Zionist executive was tricked into acquiescence with this *de facto* truncation of its would-be territory by over 75 per cent. In 1946, this area was taken out of its Palestinian chrysalis and transfigured into the "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan."

This "history" of Jordan clearly demonstrates, how empty and demagogic the Arab claim is that the Palestinian Arabs are without a homeland. Jordan is populated, practically entirely, by Palestinians from both sides (but prevalently the western side of the river Jordan). Only a few thousand armed tribesmen who came with Prince Abdullah from the Hejaz, and their descendants, are not genuine Palestinians.

King Hussein, Prince Hassan and Yasser Arafat themselves declared that "Jordan is Palestine and Palestine is Jordan" or something to that effect.

Another occasion of voluntary abdication was the acceptance of the UN Partition Plan of 1947. The Arabs, by rejecting it, made the mistake of their lives. Israel would have

become an indefensible coup posed to non-existent Arab

A third instance of voluntary surrender of sovereign rights have occurred if Jordan, 1967, would have accepted Israeli Government's offer of the Israeli-Jordanian armistice into permanent borders, on condition that Jordan abstain attacking Israel. The Jordanian refusal was a serious blunder clearly revealed that the nothing to do with defeat everything to do with the creation of Israel. This gives a dimension to the legitimate retaining the territories, i.e., security demands.

I am drawing attention to in order to make Mr. Hal others realize that the problem is not so simple, and that there is no solution to it, and to show abracadabra handing-over territories is not on the map.

One can only agree with the gestures of Mr. Hallik that hospitals, schools, etc. she built in the territories. But can and should be done framework of autonomy, not a catchword if it is seriously by both sides, strengthened mutual confidence via autonomy, can lead to peace, to higher of national coexistence.

SPORTS

GOOD SALESMANSHIP

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — The chairman and founder of Elscint, Dr. Avraham Suhani, declared apropos the company's sales campaign in the United States on behalf of its medical diagnostic equipment (*The Jerusalem Post*, December 18th), "My idea of a good salesman is a person who can sell a comb to a bald man."

This may well be the sales technique of the barrel boys in London's Petticoat Lane, but is hardly the right approach in the realm of medical technology.

My definition of a good salesman is one who refuses to sell combs to bald men.

WIM VAN LEER

Jerusalem.

THE CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — As a Christian, I understand Jewish objections to missionary activity, and I personally would never engage in such efforts. At the same time, I am highly surprised by advertisements I notice here of lavish New Year parties for Jewish Israelis held in local luxury hotels. Most people are aware of the fact that the New Year is very much related to the birth of Jesus Christ.

So, on the one hand, Israeli Jews fight against the Christian influence, but on the other hand many of them go out of their way and spend big sums to celebrate a Christian holiday. This is very curious in view of the fact that a most joyous Jewish festival, Purim, is only several weeks away. That would be the ideal time for Israelis of the Jewish faith to unwind.

JOSEF VON BERGLUM

Johannesburg.

PENFRIENDS
STANLEY AGBLEZE (14) c/o Sgt. G. Agbleze, 1st Bn. of Inf. Signals Platoon, Michel Camp, Tema Ghana, would like to have Israeli penfriends. His hobbies include football, dancing, exchanging currencies and playing tennis.

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INEFFICIENT ECONOMY

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — The December 16 editorial of *The Jerusalem Post* accepts the fact that we are going to have a recession, yet deplores Histadrut Secretary-General Yehoram Meshel's "quiet acceptance of the decline in real wages."

A recession means less production, hence less income. In Israel, 90 per cent of the national income is in the form of wages; thus, wages must fall on the average. This can happen in two ways: either we can all suffer a loss in income, or some of us can suffer the loss of our jobs. In the former case, Israel would bear only a small increase in structural unemployment; in the latter, it would face mass unemployment. This is the only choice left to us in the short run, as a result of the shockingly bad economic management of the past six and a half years.

Why does *The Jerusalem Post* agitate for high wage rates when it is obvious that average wages must fall? This would benefit only those workers who enjoy *keviut* (permanence) — the total job security which packs every workplace with superfluous employees and does more than anything else to make Israel's economy inefficient. Among the tenured workers, those who stand to gain the most are the ones who have a stranglehold on vital services. Is it these workers who speak of the "spontaneous strikes" which are just around the corner?

Why does *The Post* show so much concern for tenured employees and so little for all the others?

PHILIP ROSS

Jerusalem.

TRAVEL TAX

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — Has the travel tax proposal of \$125 covered the Israeli public into acquiescence? The government has made proposal after proposal for budget cutbacks, but the only results are more and newer taxes! Why are we so glibly accepting more burdens when our ministers can travel at will, and have made no cutbacks in their departments? There are tens and thousands of Israelis who have scrimped and saved for a deserved holiday abroad, and are now being told that for a family of four to travel they must pay \$500, regardless of their age or destination! One would as-

sume that this move would be coupled with lower hotel prices within Israel, but the bare fact remains that it is far cheaper to stay abroad than in an Israeli hotel.

When will the public wrath stir and demand an end to their government's continued interference to their right to travel?

MARK FELDMAN

Jerusalem

MEA CULPA

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — I would like to voice my opposition to cutting of wages of ministers, members of the Knesset, judges, high officials, administrators and the rest of the cream of our nation's representatives. They work hard to represent us here and abroad to show the rest of the world that we're not a nation on the verge of bankruptcy — by showing everybody by personal example, that there are still people in our land of milk and honey impervious to belt tightening of others.

If the Treasury needs money let it

take it from the workers' pensioners by raising different (from which, of course, the representatives are excluded) by giving, instead, more benefits to the cream of the (like 2,000 free phone calls a while pensioners of the communications Ministry get after years service — all of 50 free months) as their entire benefit. Shouldn't our leaders be chastised and exclaim every day *maxima culpa*?

E. SAL

Jerusalem.

MAINTAINING AGREEMENTS

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — In an address last week, former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance stated that "Israel must be reassured that our support for its security is unyielding." I would have preferred it if Mr. Vance had replaced the word "security" with the word "agreements."

Over the years the United States has demonstrated that it does not give much importance to maintaining agreements. Israeli complaints over Egyptian truce violations fell on deaf American ears both after

the War of Attrition and Yom Kippur War. More recently American officials have tried to renege Lebanese-Israeli agreement the ink has dried.

America has a new opportunity show Israel its commitment by vouching Egypt to honour the David Accords. An America fails to show commitment written word cannot expect Israel willing to trade territory pieces of paper.

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